

**BATHROOM CUPBOARDS**  
SPECIAL DESIGN  
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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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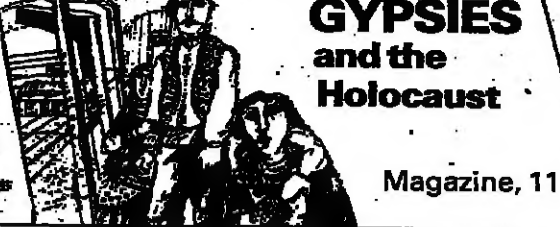
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SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
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Tel Aviv	7:22 p.m.	8:25 p.m.
Haifa	7:16 p.m.	8:25 p.m.

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A victim of yesterday's grenade attack in Jericho is rushed into Hadassah Hospital, Ein Kerem. (Yitzhak Harari)

## Jericho attack wounds cyclists

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
A grenade was hurled yesterday at a group of high-school pupils from Carmel visiting Jericho, wounding 14 persons, two of them seriously. The grenade was thrown from a rooftop as the group of 20 students and seven accompanying adults gathered to get into a passenger truck after completing a bicycle tour of the city. The grenade exploded in the middle of the group, hurling bleeding pupils to the ground and shattering a truck window. Pupils who had already boarded the truck dived for cover. Many of the wounded were hit by shrapnel in various parts of their bodies. The more seriously hurt were struck in the chest and stomach. Four of the wounded were adults.

The attack occurred at about noon in the centre of Jericho, after the pupils, who had been on a Society for the Protection of Nature tour, returned the bicycles they had rented from a local store. Its owner, Ahmad Shashua, was wounded in the blast. Two of the adults accompanying the pupils were medics and doctors from the local hospital, and policemen from a nearby police station gave the wounded first aid. They were later transferred in Israeli and Arab vehicles to the hospital, and to an infirmary at an IDF base in the city. An IDF helicopter that arrived to evacuate the wounded was held up due to technical difficulties and landed about two hours after the incident at Hadassah Hospital in Ein Kerem.

Group members later complained to Health Minister Mordechai Gur, who visited them in hospital, about the delays in the evacuation. Gur said the wounded had received treatment on the scene within 15 minutes. O/C Central Command Ehud Barak, who arrived in Jericho with Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy, said the wounded were evacuated to the IDF base in 10 minutes. A curfew was clamped on the area of the incident, troop reinforcements were called in, and sections of Jericho closed off for an intensive search. Passersby and shopkeepers in the vicinity of the incident were held for questioning. Roadblocks were set up at entrances to the city and cars were searched. Doctors at Hadassah Hospital said (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## Labour urged to reevaluate stance

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
TEL AVIV. - With the gulf between the Israeli and Arab positions having been reaffirmed during the Morocco summit, voices were heard in the Labour Party yesterday calling for a reassessment of Labour's traditional thinking. Labour Knesset caucus chairman Rafi Edri, who accompanied Premier Peres to Morocco, told the Labour political bureau yesterday that he favoured a "rethink" of the party's positions, including a reassessment of its blanket opposition to any role for the PLO in the peace process. Certain members of Labour are beginning to feel that without flexibility on both the Israeli and Arab sides, no political breakthroughs can be achieved. Other senior Labour sources said that Peres had displayed "a certain flexibility" regarding the PLO during his talks with Morocco's King Hassan II. Liberal Party leader MK Yitzhak Moda'i reacted strongly yesterday to what he said were "hints that maybe Israel should change its stand." "I can't imagine that we could make further concessions after Camp David," Moda'i said. "If the visit means becoming more flexible, I won't accept it. We will

give peace and get peace at the same time." Not only Likud members are opposed to a change in traditional positions. MK Simha Dinitz, a Labour hawk, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that he would oppose any change of heart on the PLO. "Our stand must be Palestinians yes; PLO no," he said. Dinitz said that a "new realism is beginning to engulf the Middle East," and that Israel's reaction should be to support Jordan's King Hussein and moderate West Bank Palestinians, while maintaining an anti-PLO line. Peres did not address the Labour political bureau yesterday, preferring to first report to the cabinet. Over the next few days, Labour sources said, the full picture of Peres's talks with Hassan would emerge. Bitter disputes are expected to erupt between Labour and the Likud if it emerges that Peres strayed from the strict guidelines of the coalition agreement. In a radio interview yesterday, Deputy Premier David Levy said that Peres's visit to Morocco made it clear that the Arabs rejected the Labour Party's peace proposals as they rejected the Likud's. The Arabs wanted everything, he said, including Jerusalem and recognition of the PLO, belying the Labour Party's claim that the Likud was blocking the peace process.

## Boycott dims Games' glitter

EDINBURGH. - Fireworks and a massed children's display momentarily lifted the gloom shrouding the 13th Commonwealth Games as the opening ceremony finally set the 10-day sports festival in motion. The colourful scenes ended weeks of mounting controversy during which more than half the 58 eligible territories pulled out, the vast majority in protest at Britain's refusal to support economic sanctions against South Africa. A cast of 9,000, including 6,500 children, thrilled spectators undeterred by the overcast skies and evening chill from turning out to see Britain's

Prince Philip declare the games officially open. A crowd of about 23,000 packed Meadowbank stadium to watch competitors from the 27 countries march into the stadium, near the heart of the Scottish capital, to the skirl of bagpipes, the swirl of kilts and a fanfare of massed bands. But the jubilant atmosphere could not disguise the contrast with the Edinburgh games of 16 years ago, when the phrase "Friendly Games" was first coined, or mask the absence of 31 members of the loosely-knit Commonwealth family, leaving only 27 teams in the games.

In a dramatic last minute development, the Bermuda team of eight athletes and five officials decided to join the boycott and decided to stay in the games. With the opening ceremony already under way, the Bermudians changed quickly into their uniforms and rushed from the competitors village to Meadowbank. The final figure for the number of competitors is about 1,650, still a new record since 1,579 attended the biggest previous games, in Brisbane four years ago. The boycott stripped the games of some 700 sportsmen and women, about one-third of the original entry.

# Milestone on road to peace

**ANALYSIS**  
YEHUDA LITANI

## Between optimism and gloom

The parties to Middle East peace talks are necessarily selective in revealing details of their discussions. Hence the conflicting statements emanating from Rabat and Jerusalem after this week's summit between Morocco's King Hassan and Premier Peres. While Peres's entourage returned full of optimism and enthusiasm, the king was more downbeat, letting it be known that the talks had, in fact, foundered on Peres's refusal to talk to the PLO and to discuss the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

The Moroccan monarch understands the ins and outs of the Middle East conflict well enough to know that Shimon Peres cannot accept, or even discuss, the idea of such an independent state. Hassan is also well aware of Peres's delicate position as head of a national unity government whose outstanding feature is its disunity. As always, then, the truth about what really happened at the summit probably lies somewhere between the excited optimism of the Israelis and the gloomy statements of the king. In the wake of the split between Jordan and the PLO, King Hassan has maintained good relations with both sides. He is thus now in a better position than Hussein to act as a mediator between Israel and the Arabs. But Hassan can never be a full partner in peace negotiations since he is not a crucial figure in the conflict. Perhaps he can gently push the two sides closer to agreement, and soften the sharper edges of their demands; but he is not in a position to make major concessions.

Perhaps the most positive feature of the summit is the simple fact that Hassan has now joined the exclusive club of Arab rulers willing to talk to Israel. His public expressions of disappointment over the outcome of the talks should be regarded as statements intended primarily for the consumption of the Arab world. In the short term, the real results of the visit will be reflected in low-key diplomatic, commercial and agricultural exchanges between Israel and Morocco. Israelis may look forward to public visits by Moroccan ministers or high officials, and perhaps eventually, even the king himself.

In the long term Peres's dramatic trip to Ifrane could stand as a milestone on the road to formal relations between the two states. Regarding the Middle East conflict itself, Hassan's initiatives should carry more weight now that he has made public, formal contact with the "enemy." Although many Arab states and the PLO are now denouncing Hassan, at some time they may have to turn to him as their agent. This single fact will prove more important than any differences still remaining between Israel and Morocco on the Palestinian question.

### Hussein to Syria?

King Hussein is expected to go to Damascus in the near future, in addition to his visit to Iraq tomorrow, according to the Kuwait newspaper *Al-Wakeel*. The visit reportedly will deal with attempts at rapprochement between Iraq and Syria.

## Peres says summit a 'precedent'

By BENNY MORRIS  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent  
While neither King Hassan nor Prime Minister Peres strayed from their official positions vis-à-vis the Middle East conflict, there was a feeling in Jerusalem yesterday that a historic step towards peace had been taken at the Ifrane summit.

Peres, interviewed last night on Israel TV, noted that he and Hassan had "parted in high spirits." The premier described the American and European reactions to the Moroccan summit as "enthusiastic" and the Arab reactions as diverse. Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, he said, had been allowed "to emerge from his isolation. [Now] there is another leader in the Arab world, who is not seeking any concrete gain [territory], who is [talking about peace]."

Peres said the importance of the talks was that they served as a "precedent." Peres noted that, in speaking of the Fez summit resolutions of 1982, Hassan had stressed that they implied recognition of Israel and of Israel's need for secure borders. "A week ago, no one would have believed that an Arab king would invite the prime minister of Israel to visit his country openly," Peres said.

Assessing the substance and possible consequences of the talks and the two-day visit to Morocco, which ended on Wednesday night, officials at the Prime Minister's Office noted that both Hassan and Peres, at their third and final meeting Wednesday evening, had committed themselves to "a continuation of the dialogue" between them. The officials said that, while substantially separated by points of policy, the two leaders had shared notably similar appreciations of the current Middle East situation.

Peres, who is today due to brief Vice Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on the visit and, later, the full cabinet is expected to stress that the summit exceeded Israeli expectations, in terms of the friendliness of the Moroccan welcome and of the joint communiqué with which it ended.

The following is the English version of the official French-language communiqué issued simultaneously yesterday in Rabat and in Jerusalem: His Majesty King Hassan II has, on July 22 and 23 of 1986, received at his palace in Ifrane Shimon Peres, prime minister of Israel. During the

Post Mideast Staff  
RABAT. - King Hassan will continue searching for new ways to improve relations between Israel and the Arabs, despite his disappointment over his talks with Prime Minister Peres, Moroccan officials said yesterday. "The king will continue meeting with whomever he wants at whatever time he chooses, and this includes Israeli leaders," the sources said. Meanwhile, Hassan wants to send Moroccan delegations to Arab capitals to report on the historic two-day meeting in Ifrane.

Hassan also is sending messages to all Arab heads of state on re-opening a long-delayed Arab summit to discuss the talks. According to Israeli sources in Jerusalem, the Moroccans are pleased by the relatively low-key reactions to the summit in many Arab states, especially Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi Ba'ath leadership has only condemned the meeting in contrast to the Syrian move to sever ties. More notably, Saudi Arabia broadcast live Wednesday night Hassan's entire speech on his meeting. The full text of the speech appeared in the nation's newspapers yesterday, despite the absence of official comment.

In his speech to Moroccans, Hassan reported that he had terminated the Ifrane discussions and said "goodbye" to Peres, when Peres

## U.S. calls it historic effort

Washington. - The U.S. yesterday hailed the meeting between Premier Peres and King Hassan as a "valuable and historic effort." State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said: "No one ever suggested that making peace in the Middle East would be easy, nor did the U.S. expect any dramatic breakthrough at this session, or that all problems could be resolved in two days of meetings."

But Kalb, in a carefully prepared statement, went on to reaffirm the U.S. conviction that "it is only through direct dialogue that the dispute can be resolved. The U.S. has urged such contact for years. We applaud the courage demonstrated by King Hassan and Prime Minister Peres in initiating such a dialogue." Responding to questions, Kalb again noted that the U.S. had been informed of the meeting in advance.



King Hassan and Prime Minister Peres in the palace at Ifrane. Additional pictures are on page 4. (Nade Hamik)

Peres his government, of the points of view developed during the talks. Observers in Jerusalem noted that the Hassan-Peres talks were "devoted essentially to the study of the Fez plan." They believed that Israel's agreement to this formulation was dictated by the perception that it might help cushion or deflect Arab criticism of Hassan's move to hold the summit. Officials at the Prime Minister's Office stressed three main points which lent the visit "historic significance": Its openness, including massive coverage of the event in the Moroccan media as well as live transmission of Hassan's Wednesday night speech on Saudi Arabian TV; the very mixed - and generally tolerant - Arab reactions to the visit (in contrast to the almost blanket condemnation of President Sadat's 1977 visit to Jerusalem and the severing of ties with Egypt by almost all the Arab world); and the release of the joint communiqué, which included the commitment by Peres to pass on to Arab leaders Israel's position (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Hassan vows to continue search for peace

According to Israeli sources in Jerusalem, the Moroccans are pleased by the relatively low-key reactions to the summit in many Arab states, especially Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi Ba'ath leadership has only condemned the meeting in contrast to the Syrian move to sever ties. More notably, Saudi Arabia broadcast live Wednesday night Hassan's entire speech on his meeting. The full text of the speech appeared in the nation's newspapers yesterday, despite the absence of official comment.

In his speech to Moroccans, Hassan reported that he had terminated the Ifrane discussions and said "goodbye" to Peres, when Peres

refused demands that Israel recognize the PLO and withdraw from all occupied Arab territories.

A senior palace official in Morocco said, however, that another meeting between the king and Peres was possible. But he declined to elaborate.

Hassan, in the 45-minute broadcast from his Ifrane palace, also told his people: "I did not accept this meeting to negotiate or decide anything. To my mind, it was exploratory. I personally think it is cowardly not to listen to an adversary or an enemy."

The king said the main reason for meeting Peres at this time was that he would be replaced in October by "the extreme right-wing Likud."

## Visiting Rabbis

who are practising leaders of congregations in the U.S.A. and Canada are cordially invited by State of Israel Bonds to a special day of visits and briefings

on Wednesday, July 30

For information and registration, please call 8:30 a.m.-12 noon today or weekdays 8:30 a.m.-5 p.m. Tel. 02-222381.

(Registration closes 5 p.m. Monday)

ad008-27-04

## Ghetto Fighters House in Israel

Greet the participants, 40 USA teachers from 13 states, in the Summer Study Program at the Zivia and Yitzhak Zuckerman Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Jewish Resistance, held in association with Yad Vashem and the Haifa University.

We wish to thank the American Gathering and Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in the USA, the Educational Chapter of the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Federation of Teachers, the sponsors in the United States. We especially appreciate the tireless efforts of Mrs. Vladka Meed.

We welcome you.

Copies printed today:  
**50,200**  
THE JERUSALEM POST



## HOME NEWS

Family sees Nazi war crimes suspect for first time in 5 months

### Prison reunion for Demjanjuk

By BARBARA AMOUYAL  
"I have been anticipating this day for the past five months. I can't tell you what a huge burden has been lifted from me," said a relaxed Vera Demjanjuk as she sipped from a glass of wine - "My first in months" - at her hotel in Jerusalem yesterday.

Vera Demjanjuk, her daughter Irene, son-in-law Edward Nishnik and seven-month-old grandson, Eddie Jr., had just returned from a two-hour family reunion with suspected Nazi war criminal John Demjanjuk at his maximum-security cell at Ramle's Ayalon Prison. The family had not seen Demjanjuk since his extradition from the U.S. nearly five months ago.

Unlike the rather brusque encounter at Ayalon Prison on Wednesday when prison officials refused the family's request to visit Demjanjuk, senior Ayalon officials escorted the family, along with American attorney Mark O'Connor and his assistant Jim MacDonald to the 12 by 8 metre courtyard adjacent to Demjanjuk's cell.

A sun-tanned, robust and much thinner John Demjanjuk was wait-

ing to greet his family. He immediately rushed to his wife and showered her with kisses, before turning to his grandson Eddie, whom he had seen only once before at a Federal penitentiary in New York.

"He looked extremely healthy and seemed to be in very good spirits," Irene told *The Jerusalem Post* last night. "We were all worried that he may have fallen ill here."

The atmosphere, reported family members, was warm and relaxed. Virtually no discussion of pending charges or his upcoming trial were permitted to spoil the occasion. Talk centred mostly on family matters. Demjanjuk's main worry was the family's strained financial situation at home in Seven Hills, Ohio.

"We talked about my brother John Jr.," said Irene. "My dad wanted to know how school was, how work was coming along and how we were handling his absence."

Ayalon Prison Director Peretz Chen, Prison Service spokesman Joni Tester, Demjanjuk's personal translator and five warders and guards remained at the high-security

site during the family's visit. But they tried to remain in the background and give the family some moments of semi-privacy. Towards the end of the visit, Prison Service Commissioner Rafi Suissa entered the cell, shook Demjanjuk's hand, and welcomed the family to Israel. Suissa told the family he hoped the prison staff would make future visits as comfortable as possible.

John Demjanjuk told his family that he had adapted quite well to Israeli food. "They put too much vinegar in the salad, but the outstanding bread makes up for this inconvenience," Demjanjuk told his wife.

"I was surprised to see him so sun-tanned," said Irene. "When he was in prison in the U.S., they rarely let him outside."

The Demjanjuk family will return to the prison on Sunday for another two-hour visit. In the meantime, they hope to tour Jerusalem. "We've heard so much about this city, and I suppose we should take advantage of it while we're here," said his daughter.



Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy visits a Netanya camp run by the Soldiers' Welfare Association. Some 1,250 orphans and widows of soldiers are expected at the camp this year. (GPA)

### Decision to delay vote prevented NRP split

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Correspondent  
TEL AVIV. - A split in the National Religious Party was narrowly averted late Wednesday night, as Ze'evu Hammer's faction finally backed down from its demand that elections for the posts of political secretary and Hapoel Hamizrachi secretary be held at this convention.

The rival Laminie faction, headed by Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg, had insisted that voting for these two positions, as well as for Burg's cabinet portfolio, be postponed until the NRP convention reconvenes on September 4.

Burg's faction, having been defeated in all the convention contests, including the one for the party secretary-generalship, was determined to guard against further setbacks. It threatened to split the party's four-man Knesset faction, and Burg even threatened not to re-

linquish his cabinet post as previously promised.

The Hammer faction finally yielded when it became clear that there was no way the vote could be completed in time. It was getting late and the convention could not be extended because of yesterday's 17th of Tamuz fast.

Burg's faction was particularly concerned to avoid a vote for political secretary because of the coalition that was forming between the Hammer faction, Matzad, MK Avner Shaki's faction, the Religious Women's Faction (Emuna) and other groups against its candidate, Raphael Ben Natan.

Many in Laminie strove to persuade Ben Natan, the party's outstanding dove, not to run. So far he has refused to step down, but sources in Hammer's faction said they had been promised that he would not run in September.

### IN BRIEF

**Ya'acobi: Local firms must build VOA station**  
Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi said yesterday that agreement to build a Voice of America station in the Arava should be deferred until there are guarantees that local companies will do the building.

The draft agreement currently under consideration does not make such guarantees, the minister said. (Itim)

**Keep clear of your wife, court orders**  
HAIFA (Itim). - A 42-year-old Tirt Carmel man who allegedly tried to rape his wife was yesterday released by the district court here on NIS 5,000 bail and ordered to stay away from her.

The man entered his wife's apartment last April and tried to rape her when she resisted his sexual advances. She managed to escape and report him to the police.

**Cable TV raid**  
Police and Communications Ministry security officials on Wednesday night raided 51 illegal cable television stations in the southern region and confiscated video and broadcasting equipment.

Some 100 officers were involved in the raid that covered Kiryat Gat, Kiryat Malachi, Ashdod and Ashkelon. (Itim)

**SCIENCE** - The number of young people attending science summer camps has quadrupled to 2,530 in the last five years, the Education Ministry announced yesterday.

### Sharir to get justice until rotation

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Post Political Reporter  
TEL AVIV. - The Liberal Party has decided that the Justice portfolio will be held by Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir until the rotation of the premiership in October. The portfolio was left open when former justice minister Yitzhak Moda'i resigned on Monday after a clash with Prime Minister Peres. The resignation went into effect yesterday.

Peres is expected to announce Sharir's caretakership during the weekly cabinet meeting on Sunday. The decision will be presented to the Knesset for approval on Monday.

The decision to entrust the portfolio temporarily to Sharir was made

by the Liberal cabinet ministers and Knesset members during a meeting yesterday of the Liberal Party central committee. No formal vote was taken at the meeting.

The Liberals decided not to nominate another of their members for the post, apparently anticipating that Moda'i will return to the cabinet after the rotation takes place. Neither Peres nor Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir is expected to object to Sharir's acting as temporary custodian, Liberal MKs said yesterday.

The decision to entrust the portfolio to Sharir, a political opponent of Moda'i's, is regarded by some Liberals as a slap in the face for the party leader. Moda'i, it is said,

would have preferred that the portfolio go to Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, presumably expecting that in the post-rotation line-up, Nissim would return to Justice and Moda'i would go to the Treasury.

Moda'i and Nissim swapped portfolios last April after Moda'i's first clash with the prime minister.

Addressing the central committee yesterday, Moda'i said he expected the Alignment to bring down the government shortly after rotation, thus forcing new elections. "After rotation, the Alignment will have nothing to lose," he said. "When it feels it has an advantage, it will attempt and, I suspect, succeed, in bringing about new elections."

### CRM meets Chilean envoy on human rights violations

By MENACHEM SHALEV  
For The Jerusalem Post  
A delegation of the Citizens Rights Movement met yesterday with Luis Palma, the Chilean chargé d'affaires in Tel Aviv to express their concern about reports of human rights violations in Chile.

MK Mordechai Bar-On and Edy Kaufman, head of the CRM's foreign affairs committee (and originally from Chile) told Palma they had received an urgent request for skin donations for 19-year-old Carmen Quintero, who sustained 60 per cent burns at a demonstration in Santiago on July 2. Palma replied that he did not believe there would be a problem obtaining skin since there was no shortage of skin banks in Santiago.

Palma, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that "this was the first time that someone had come to the

embassy to complain about human rights" in his country.

Palma told *The Jerusalem Post* Amnesty International and the Chilean opposition that police had doused the girl and her companion - who burned to death - with petrol. He said the girls were at fault for brandishing "Molotov cocktails which ignited in their hands."

The CRM delegation also inquired about physicians who were arrested in April for allegedly treating a suspected terrorist. Palma said that the physicians were arrested for "failing to report the incident to the police."

Finally, the visitors raised the issue of David Soto Maldonado, a young musician arrested in Valparaiso on February 25, 1985. Maldonado has reportedly been tortured by the Chilean authorities.

**JERICHO**  
(Continued from Page One)  
last night that three of the wounded were still being operated upon, and that four lightly wounded persons had been released.

Barak said the pin and safety catch of a Soviet F-1 grenade had been found.

A similar grenade was used in an attack some two months ago on an army bus in the city, he said.

Barak said the incident was unusual, considering the recent decline of terror attacks in the territories, though attempts had been made recently to plant land mines on a dirt road leading to the Nahal settlement of Elisha near Jericho.

In Damascus, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by Nayef Hawatmeh claimed responsibility for yesterday's attack.

But responsibility for the attack was also claimed by a caller purporting to speak for the FLO's "Force 17."

### Critics may have set fire to Shawwa packing plant

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
A citrus fruit storage and packing house owned by deceased Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa was set on fire late Wednesday, apparently in response to his recent criticism of the PLO.

Shawwa's son Mansour said the blaze was discovered at about 11 p.m. Wednesday by guards at the plant, located on the eastern outskirts of Gaza. He said two rubber

conveyor belts and sections of roofing had been burned before firemen put out the blaze in about 20 minutes. Mansour said the fire had apparently been started by local residents who are critical of his father.

Rashad Shawwa has been heavily criticized by spokesmen in the territories following a recent interview on Jordan Television in which he charged that the PLO had sought to impose its wishes on Palestinians in the territories, instead of representing them.

(Continued from Page One)  
on various aspects of the Middle East conflict.

The officials were unwilling or unable to comment on the immediate impact the summit might have on the regional situation. It is possible that the "operative" part of the talks dealt with Moroccan-Jordanian contacts concerning Jordanian-Palestinian participation in the peace process.

Peres, in last night's TV interview, stressed that throughout his talks with the king, he had been bound by the restricting framework of the official Israeli government position, just as Hassan had been bound by the Fez resolutions.

The officials at the Prime Minister's Office were dismissive, indeed contemptuous, of criticism from Likud circles that the visit amounted to a "last photo opportunity for Peres."

The officials said they were "astonished" that a "historic meeting" - the first between an Israeli prime minister and an Arab leader since Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat met - should be so described

by anyone in Israel, which for decades has striven to effect face-to-face public contacts with Arab leaders.

The officials suggested that the visit might "make it easier" for Mubarak to hold a similar summit with Peres after the Taba arbitration compromise is signed.

The officials said the summit was arranged by Peres's media adviser Uri Savir and MK Rafi Ederi during secret talks in Paris on July 11 with Moroccan officials. Last-minute arrangements were worked out in "coded" telephone conversations via Paris between Ederi and Moroccan officials.

The visit and Peres's initial meeting with Hassan were originally to have been held in complete secrecy, leaving it to the king and Peres to decide whether and when to make details public.

Moroccan agreement to the Israeli delegation bringing a TV reporter and crew along was the first sign that Hassan was going to agree to make the visit public, the officials said.

From the start, the meetings were

intended to be not negotiations, but discussions and a chance to "hear out" both sides. This was because Morocco was not directly involved in the conflict and Hassan, as chairman of the Arab League, was representing the "Arab consensus" rather than his own and Morocco's views.

The Moroccans made it clear that if news of the summit leaked out before Peres arrived in Morocco, it would be called off. Hassan did not inform any Arab states about the impending summit.

Hence, when Peres and his team, aboard their Israeli Air Force plane at 10 p.m. on Monday, an hour before touchdown in Fez, heard Israel Radio broadcast a Reuters report from Rabat leaking news of the summit, there was trepidation that the talks would be called off.

But the Israelis were received with lavish hospitality and taken in a Mercedes convoy to villas near Hassan's palace at Ifrane. There, after the traditional offering of almond milk and dates, they were welcomed by Hassan's senior ministers. Hassan himself, in an unusual gesture, drove up to the Israeli delegation's building to greet the guests.

After some small talk about his meetings a decade ago with Moshe Dayan, Hassan said that the time had come for a "public meeting" and that there were "important things" to discuss. He asked Peres when they should meet.

Peres said, "First thing tomorrow morning." (Peres's work day usually starts at 6 a.m.)

Hassan said: "Fine, let's say 11:00."

The first meeting, which began at 11:30 a.m. on Tuesday, was attended by the king, the premier, Savir, Ederi, Foreign Minister Abdel Latif Filali, Interior and Information Minister Driss Basri, and Hassan's main poli-

tical adviser, Ahmed Reda Guedira.

Hassan opened by saying that he had taken into account the possible Arab reactions to the meeting, but did not appear particularly perturbed, according to the Israeli officials.

Hassan then asked Peres for his views on the Middle East situation. Peres spoke for half an hour, analyzing the Jordanian-PLO rift, the situation in Lebanon, and Syrian and Egyptian policies. Hassan then set out his views on the situation. Israeli officials said the two analyses had a great deal in common.

The king then emphasized some key elements of the 1982 Fez resolutions (or peace plan), focusing on the Arab view of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and the need for Israeli evacuation of all the occupied territories.

Peres responded by spelling out Israel's objections to these points. Hassan suggested that working teams from both sides hammer out a joint communiqué.

The king then took Peres around the palace, introducing him to members of his family.

In the evening, after supper, the

Moroccan team put forward a draft proposal for a joint statement which, following some general assertions about the need for peace, concluded with the affirmation of the need for Israeli withdrawal from the territories, and recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians, and of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

The Israeli delegation rejected the proposal and suggested that it might be better to end the summit without a joint communiqué, or to issue a more bland statement.

The Moroccan team said it would consider the matter, leaving the Israelis with the uneasy feeling that the whole summit was about to fall apart. "We didn't know what would happen next," recalled one of the participants.

But the Moroccans later informed the Israelis that discussion of the communiqué would be resumed the following morning (Wednesday) at 11.

In the interim, the Israelis worked on formulas that might prove acceptable to the Moroccans while not straying from the main lines of Israeli policy as enunciated to date. Such concepts as "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" and Israeli readiness to agree to "an

international forum" were discussed, according to the Israeli officials.

The Moroccan team arrived looking unhappy. The Israelis stressed the need to issue a joint communiqué. The Moroccans left to consult with Hassan and returned to say that the summit had "enormous importance" and that it must not end without a joint statement.

They then suggested that the communiqué be based on the draft prepared by Savir and Ederi during their July 11 contacts in Paris, with the addition of several sentences, including the announcement that Peres would brief his cabinet on the talks and on Hassan's position, and that Hassan would convey the content of the talks and Israel's position to Arab leaders.

The Israeli team agreed to this, emerging from the meeting with a feeling that the summit was ending on a successful note.

The Moroccans took the joint draft to Hassan, who approved it. He then suggested that he and Peres join the working teams. The two leaders then spoke on a general plane "and with great friendliness," according to Israeli participants, about the need to make peace and avoid further bloodshed.

Hassan and Peres spent a final 15 minutes in private discussion, the subject of which was not divulged. It probably focused on Israel's desire for Hassan to prevail upon King Hussein to join the peace process.

The Israeli TV crew was allowed 15 seconds to photograph the two leaders together, and then the Israelis set out for home.

## MILESTONE ON ROAD TO PEACE

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	21.7.86	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	12	5	19	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	16	8	24	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	6	3	18	Clear
CHICAGO	17	6	28	Clear
COPENHAGEN	14	7	21	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	10	5	21	Cloudy
GENEVA	17	6	28	Cloudy
HELSINKI	18	6	22	Clear
HONG KONG	24	19	29	Clear
JAKARTA	26	21	31	Clear
LONDON	16	8	24	Cloudy
MADRID	16	8	24	Cloudy
MONTREAL	16	6	27	Clear
NEW YORK	22	12	32	Clear
OSLO	11	5	17	Cloudy
PARIS	12	5	23	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	12	8	16	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	17	6	28	Cloudy
TOKYO	22	19	25	Clear
TORONTO	16	8	24	Cloudy
VIENNA	16	8	24	Cloudy
ZURICH	14	7	23	Cloudy

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Savir Shiva, 35-Ha Ayalon St. 103/25265  
Cairo, Ben Gerson Airport 102/971151

### THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	57	18-27	27
Tel Aviv	44	18-30	30
Nahariya	46	20-29	29
Safed	43	17-28	27
Haifa Port	38	24-35	35
Tiberias	46	20-30	29
Nazareth	44	22-32	32
Afula	44	22-32	32
Shomron	49	20-29	29
Tel Aviv	58	23-30	30
B-G Airport	58	25-29	29
Jericho	40	25-27	26
Gaza	64	25-28	28
Beerleba	52	23-32	32
Eilat	24	26-40	40

### ARRIVALS

Dr. Joseph P. Sternstein, president of the Jewish National Fund of America, for consultations with JNF officials in Israel.

### Libarian anniversary

Libarian Ambassador Samuel B. Pearson last night held a reception at his Herzliya Pituh residence to mark the 199th anniversary of Liberia's independence. More than 500 guests attended, including several Israeli dignitaries and foreign diplomats.

"Liberia established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1983."

### Moscow death

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Sofia Ushnis-kaya, the mother of Prisoner of Zion Vladimir Brodsky, died this week in Moscow. Her son is serving a three-year prison sentence on trumped-up charges of "hooliganism."

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**Avrum M. and Anita Chudnow and their family**  
Milwaukee, Wisc., U.S.A.  
who will participate in the inauguration of the

**Lake at Timna Valley Park**  
near King Solomon's Pillars in the Arava,  
on Tuesday, July 29, 1986.

**Yad Vashem**  
Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority,  
Jerusalem

The Yad Vashem Museum will be CLOSED to the public on SUNDAY, JULY 27, between 11:30 a.m. and 3:30 p.m.

**De Cuellar undergoes heart bypass surgery**  
UNITED NATIONS (Reuters). - Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday underwent successful surgery for a quadruple coronary bypass and should be able to return to work within a few weeks, a UN spokesman announced.

He said the operation, at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital, lasted just over four hours.

The unveiling for our dear

**Dr. JOSEPH S. GERSHBAUM** י"ד

will take place at the Eretz Hahayim Cemetery, Beit Shemesh, on Tuesday, July 29, 1986, at 5:00 p.m.  
A bus will leave promptly at 4:30 p.m. from the Laromme Hotel.

Hilda Ely Gershbaum Miriam, Charles and David Ruth Chernofsky

Call 02-222-912.

With deep sorrow I announce the death of my husband

**FRANZ OLLENDORFF** י"ד  
(Jerusalem)  
on July 18, 1986.  
The funeral has taken place in Jerusalem.

Tanja Ollendorff (née Salomonson)

---

On the thirtieth day after the death of our dear

**Dr. KARL HORVAT** י"ד  
Abbazia-Haifa

a memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone will take place on Tuesday, July 29, 1986, at the Kfar Samir Cemetery, Haifa.  
A special bus will leave from Kupat Holim Vav, Katamon, Jerusalem (Rehov Bruria/Abba Hilel's corner) at 2 p.m.  
We shall meet at 4:00 p.m. at 81 Sd. Hanassi, Haifa.  
Tel. 04-382453.

The Bereaved Family

IV. 6. 24-26

**LOTTE SCHLESINGER** (née Alexander)  
has come home

Tel Aviv, Tamuz 5746  
Bad Homburg, July 1986

Family and friends of

**SAMUEL GALE** י"ד

will gather at the grave for a memorial service and stone setting, in the Ramat Hasharon cemetery on Sunday, August 3, 1986, at 5:00 p.m.

Bernice Wix Joseph Gale



## Reagan hints at limited sanctions against S. Africa

WASHINGTON. — President Reagan, hinting at a possible concession to the critics of his South African policy, said yesterday "we never close any doors" and indicated that new, limited sanctions might be ordered against the Pretoria government.

Reagan, on a campaign trip in Columbia, South Carolina, did not elaborate. But his spokesman, Larry Speakes, said the administration might take additional steps if the South African government refuses to move away from apartheid.

Reagan, asked if he might consider new sanctions in concert with allies, said, "we never close any doors."

Speakes said Reagan had always stressed that he was opposed to "punitive, economic sanctions."

There are other sanctions that are not punitive economic sanctions," Speakes said. "Such steps might include denial of landing rights in the U.S. for South African planes," he said, adding, "I don't know, things like that."

Reagan's comment came shortly after Secretary of State George Shultz told reporters that sanctions would need to be coordinated with other nations for them to be effective.

"If any measures of this sort are to be really effective they must be done on a coordinated basis," Shultz said during a satellite news conference with reporters in Johannesburg, Ottawa and several European capitals.

If U.S. businesses are required to leave South Africa, companies from countries not participating in the sanctions could pick up assets easily and make money in the process, he said.

The U.S. Senate is moving ahead with plans to impose sanctions on South Africa, despite presidential warnings that these would hurt chances of nudging Pretoria toward sharing power with the black majority.

Shultz carried the administration's case to lawmakers on Wednesday, repeating Reagan's plea of a day earlier that Congress shouldn't order sanctions.

In Johannesburg, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe met leading South African businessmen and white opposition politicians yesterday and was told his peace mission required a miracle to achieve substantial results.

Howe, on a week-long shuttle around southern Africa on behalf of the European Community, met Colin Egan and Helen Suzman of the moderate Progressive Federal Party.

Howe met leading black and white businessmen, including Harry Oppenheimer and Gavin Rellly of the Anglo American Corporation, Chris Ball of Barclays Bank, and Sam Molsenyan of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce.

Molsenyan stunned Howe by unexpectedly declaring his support for international sanctions against South Africa.

Molsenyan, who in the past had opposed sanctions, said he had told Howe he now favoured their "immediate" implementation.

The black businessmen dismissed the arguments of Western countries such as the U.S. and Britain, who maintain that blacks would suffer most from an international withdrawal of trade and investment.

Molsenyan said he was speaking for many black businessmen in making his statement, and added that his meeting with Howe would damage his reputation in the black community. "I don't like being seen bolstering the regime," he said, adding that he had agreed to the talks only reluctantly.

Howe yesterday left for Zambia and is scheduled to make short visits to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland before returning to South Africa for a second meeting with President Botha on Tuesday.

(AP, Reuters, AFP)

## Iraqi jets bomb Kurdish city

NICOSIA (AP). — Iraqi warplanes yesterday bombed the Kurdish city of Sanandaj in western Iran, killing 20 civilians, Iran's news agency reported. It was the fourth Iraqi air attack on Iran this week.

Iraq, monitored in Nicosia, said eight children and five women were among the dead in the attack. It said "scores" of other people were wounded.

Kurdish rebels in Iranian Kurdistan, seeking self-autonomy from the Islamic regime of Ayatollah Khomeini, have sided with Iraq in the six-year-old Iran-Iraq war.

Iraq said the attack came a day after a raid on an area south of

Teheran which injured seven civilians. On Tuesday, Iraqi planes bombed the Kurdish city of Mariwan, killing four people.

Iraq said the raid on Teheran hit an arms factory. It also said its warplanes bombed a steel plant near the central city of Isfahan and an army camp and two railway bridges in the western region.

These air raids were the most intensive in recent weeks against Iranian targets away from the 1,180km. warfront, and the closest to Teheran since May when a refinery outside the Iranian capital came under attack. Teheran is 500km. east of the Iran-Iraq border.

## 31 die in second bus blast in Sri Lanka in three days

COLOMBO (Reuters). — Tamil separatists yesterday blew up a passenger bus in northern Sri Lanka for the second time in three days, killing 31 people and wounding 67, a military spokesman said.

A parcel-bomb exploded on the bus at Isinbassa village, about 200km. north of Colombo and a short distance from Vavuniya town where a landmine was detonated under a bus on Tuesday, killing 31 people.

Most of the victims of both inci-

dents belonged to the majority Sinhalese community.

The bus bombing raised the toll to 68 killed and at least 74 injured since last Tuesday in attacks by guerrillas fighting for a separate Tamil state in the northern and eastern areas of the island.

It occurred as political leaders wound up a round of discussions on a plan to end the island's bloody communal conflict that has taken about 4,000 lives in the past three years.

## 7 indicted in U.S. for 'aircraft plot'

ATLANTA (AP). — Five Americans and two Libyans have been indicted in a \$50 million plot to lease illegally two Lockheed transport planes to Libya. Federal officials said yesterday.

"It's the largest diversion of military equipment to Libya ever discovered," said Steve Hooper, the agent in charge of the Atlanta office of the U.S. Customs Service.

The seven indicted on Tuesday are accused of purchasing two L-100-30

four-engine propellers, the civilian equivalent of the C-130 military transport plane, and telling Lockheed, the Department of Commerce and the Customs Service that the planes were to be used in the West African nation of Benin for oil exploration.

Instead, the indictment said, the men planned to lease the planes to Contrans, a West German company operated by the Libyan defendants, for use in Libya.



Queen Elizabeth II (left) waves goodbye as the open carriage carrying the Duke and Duchess of York leaves Buckingham Palace on the start of their honeymoon journey on Wednesday. The Duchess of York can be seen looking back, to the left of the giant teddy bear that rides in the carriage with them. (Reuters telephoto)

## Gromyko: U.S. ties near 'zero'

MOSCOW (AP). — Soviet President Andrei Gromyko was quoted as saying that relations with the U.S. have deteriorated "practically to zero" in some areas.

Gromyko's stern assessment of current superpower relations was delivered during a meeting on Wednesday with foreign representatives of women's peace movements who are currently on an official visit to Moscow, the Communist Party daily Pravda reported.

The newspaper printed a report from the official news agency Tass which quoted Gromyko as saying that "the state of Soviet-American relations is bad. In comparison with the level which was reached at the time of previous administrations, the present level of political, trade and cultural relations has significantly deteriorated. In some spheres, it has decreased practically to zero."

Gromyko went on to criticize the U.S. administration for threatening to abandon the Salt-2 arms control accord. He also accused the Reagan administration of threatening to break out of the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty.

The Soviets have consistently accused the U.S. of preparing to violate the ABM treaty, an indefinite agreement limiting the development of missiles, with space-based weapons being developed under the strategic defence initiative.

## 'Star Wars' delay for Soviet concessions

WASHINGTON (AP). — President Reagan is willing to delay deployment of space-based missile defence systems for five to seven years if the Soviet Union agrees to allow expanded testing of the Star Wars components in the meantime, The New York Times reported yesterday.

The newspaper said the offer is contained in a draft version of a U.S. response to a letter last month from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The U.S. offer would provide assurances to the Soviets that the U.S. would adhere for five to seven years to the provisions of the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty, which limits existing defences and prohibits the development, testing or deployment of space-based systems, the newspaper said.

The proposal would extend the time required to withdraw from the ABM treaty and deploy new defences, if the Soviet Union agrees to allow research, development and testing of the Star Wars system.

Reagan's proposal would extend to five years the period required to give notification of either side's intent to abrogate the treaty, with an additional two years if they agreed to discuss the possibility of sharing missile-defence technology.



The Duke and Duchess of York wave to the crowds from the steps of their plane at London's Heathrow Airport on Wednesday as they depart for their honeymoon. (Reuters telephoto)

## Geldof and Getty: honorary knights

LONDON (Reuters). — Queen Elizabeth II invested rock singer Bob Geldof as an honorary knight today for championing starving Africans and complimented the normally dishevelled hero on his appearance in a tailored morning suit.

American oil tycoon John Paul Getty came out of seclusion to receive an honorary knighthood also at Buckingham Palace for his gifts to the British arts and various charitable causes.

In describing the joint ceremony, a British television commentator said: "Alongside the man who gives away millions was the man who raises millions."

## W. Berlin protests Afro-Asian flood

By WLADIMIR STRUMINSKI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BONN. — What has happened to democratic West Germany?

For twenty-five years, ever since East Germany built the Berlin Wall in 1961, Bonn politicians have protested against curbing of migration between the two German states.

Today, leading West German politicians accuse East Germany of allowing too many refugees from East Berlin into the Western sector. Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher even decided to raise the issue during his current visit to Moscow.

What has changed? The main change is the nationality and skin colour of the refugees. West Germany still demands free movement of East Germans to West Germany, both as visitors and immigrants. The official West German position is that Germany is one country, albeit partitioned.

Berlin is an even touchier issue. To West Germany and its Western allies, Berlin is not even legally a partitioned city. In theory, neither West Berlin nor the Western authorities impose immigration controls at the border between the two parts of the city. The Western side dislikes them as a possible de facto recognition of an intra-Berlin border.

It is against this background that the refugee issue has gained its current prominence. Recently, West Berlin has experienced a flood of Asian and African refugees.

West Germany is angered by two

## Queen dances night away

LONDON. — As Prince Andrew and his bride began their honeymoon in the Azores, Queen Elizabeth II and 500 guests celebrated at a wedding party that continued into the early hours yesterday.

The party, thrown at Claridge's by Lady Elizabeth Anson, a cousin of the queen, included a showing of a videotape of Wednesday's wedding ceremony.

Guests said afterward that they had rarely known such a relaxed royal gathering. "The queen danced constantly and except for curfewing there was no royal protocol at all," said one of the guests.

American first lady Nancy Reagan arrived with eight security men surrounding her car.

British royals present included Princess Margaret, Margaret's re-married ex-husband Lord Snowdon, Princess Anne, her husband Mark Phillips, and their son Lord Linley. Princess Alexandra and Prince Michael of Kent and his wife.

Guests included King Carl Gustav of Sweden, Prince Hiro, grandson of Emperor Hirohito of Japan, ex-King Constantine of Greece and Prince Albert of Monaco.

The queen's husband, Prince Philip, missed the party to go to Edinburgh for yesterday's Commonwealth Games opening.

The bride's father, Maj. Ronald Ferguson, also missed it. The retired army officer returned to his home village southwest of London to celebrate with villagers at a party in a local barn.

The bride's family was represented at the Claridge's party by her divorced and remarried mother Susan and her second husband.

A copy of the bride's ivory satin wedding gown was on display in a London department store with a pricing of £500.

Designer Jim Monk was the first to admit it was missing the real pearls, the beaded bees and thistles from the former Sarah Ferguson's coat of arms, and the anchors and waves of the naval prince she married.

Prince Andrew and his bride savoured their first day of married life yesterday on a tranquil honeymoon sea cruise in the Azores.

Prince Andrew got a pay increase of about £600 a week upon his marriage. His Civil List allowance — the royal family's annual pay granted by the state — rose from £20,000 to £20,000. It was his first pay rise since 1983. (AP, Reuters)

## Sudan gov't troops dislodge rebel forces

KHARTOUM (Reuters). — Sudanese government troops have dislodged rebel forces from a hill overlooking Juba airport and secured their hold over the southern capital, an army spokesman said yesterday.

Tens of rebels had been killed any many fled in the army counter-attack to regain Jebel Lado, five km. north of Juba airport from the Sudan People's Liberation Army.

## Syria reinforces its troops in West Beirut

Post Middle East Staff and Agencies

BEIRUT. — Syria was reported yesterday to have dispatched troop reinforcements to West Beirut to help the Lebanese Army take control of the capital's Shi'ite Moslem suburbs.

Beirut newspapers and radio Monte Carlo said the new Syrian deployment of 150 troops was a prelude for an attempt to re-establish government authority in the suburbs on the city's southern flank.

The suburbs have long been the power base of Justice Minister Nabih Berri's Amal militia, which is backed by Syria, and the pro-Iranian extremist Hizbollah, or Party of God.

There have been persistent, but unconfirmed, reports that most, if not all, of the 17 missing foreigners in Lebanon are held by Shi'ite kidnappers in the suburbs.

The independent Beirut newspaper A-Nahar said 150 Syrian army soldiers arrived in the past 24 hours in West Beirut in advance of a planned move into the suburbs next week.

The newspaper also reported that another 100 Syrian military observers will arrive in West Beirut soon to join Syrian observers already stationed there.

Amal has declared support for the entry of the regulars. But Hizbollah was critical of the planned intervention, saying in statements that there was no need for such a move.

However, Hizbollah leaders had made it plain their militiamen would not resist the Syrian or Lebanese troops by force if they move in.

Syria already has an estimated 500 paratroopers and commandos in West Beirut. They started deploying on July 4.

## Three gunmen killed by SLA

TEL AVIV (AFP). — The Israeli-supported militia in Southern Lebanon yesterday killed three terrorists spotted observing a militia post through binoculars, Israeli sources reported.

The sources said the three were in

a jeep, observing a position of the South Lebanon Army which patrols the security strip Israel maintains across its border.

An SLA tank fired a shell at the jeep, killing all three.

## Saudis get their first Awacs jet

RIYADH (AP). — The governor of Riyadh, Prince Salman Bin Abdul-Aziz formally accepted yesterday Saudi Arabia's first U.S.-built Airborne Warning And Control System (Awacs) jet.

The new jet, wearing the Saudi flag tail fin flash, and the green circular markings of the royal Saudi air force, landed at the Riyadh air base near where the U.S. air force Awacs jets in USAF markings were parked.

Deputizing for Saudi Defence

## Arms found in Cairo near Israel embassy

KUWAIT (Itim). — An arms cache possibly intended for use in an attack against the Israeli embassy in Cairo was discovered by an Egyptian naval patrol, according to the Al-Rai Al-Aam newspaper.

The newspaper reported yesterday that the naval patrol discovered mortars and mortar shells aboard a small wooden fishing boat floating near the embassy building. Several fishermen in the area were arrested, the newspaper stated.

## 'Romanian cattle are radioactive'

BEIRUT (Itim). — Cattle arriving from Romania to the area around the town of Zahle are contaminated with very high levels of radioactivity, according to reports Tuesday from the Voice of Islam radio.

The shipment of 450 head of cattle reportedly first arrived at the port of Khalde, where Lebanese merchants purchased 100 head for delivery to the Bek's Valley region. Most of the meat already has been delivered to butchers, when checks revealed that three out of every 100 cattle had been contaminated by radioactivity.

## The Diners: A Tale



"Waiter! The Businessman's Special, please."

"Nice place, Michele; how'd you find it?"

"They had an ad in today's Jerusalem Post. Don't you read the paper every day?"

"Fridays, of course, and I wouldn't miss the New York Times Weekly Review on Mondays. The NYT crossword keeps me busy all week."

"Irene, you really should find the time to read The Post's excellent computer columns. As an important executive in the field, you need every edge. At the very least, you should leave it hanging around your office so people will think you read The Post!"

"Sure, and then all the office boys will be lounging about reading the baseball report every day. You gotta keep those guys in line."

"The men working for me are so well trained, they check out the Today Page even before studying the sports. They know I like the Page, so they try to impress 'The Boss' by staying in tune with me."

"Tell me, how is The Post for business news and stock market reports?"

"Tops. Believe me, Irene, 50 per cent of my savvy is thanks to their economic and business pages."

"So The Post really is bigger and better."

"They've increased coverage throughout; on Tuesdays there's a special report on Jewish news from around the world."

Wednesdays they take a hard look at the Middle East, and then on Thursdays, features and news background from around the world."

"So it sounds like I can't afford not to subscribe every day."

"I couldn't imagine my morning coffee without it. Oh, and that reminds me — Walter! Hey, WAITER!"

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KING HASSAN'S broad support in his country, coupled with Morocco's physical distance and cultural differences from the core countries of the Arab Middle East, were key factors that made it possible for the monarch to host Prime Minister Shimon Peres this week, according to North Africa expert Prof. Michel Abitbol, head of the Hebrew University's Institute for African Studies.

The 56-year-old king, who acceded to the throne on the death of his father in February 1961, is the scion of a 300-year-old dynasty, which gives him "tremendous genealogical depth," Abitbol says.

Hassan's family tree shows him to be a direct descendant of the prophet Mohammed, a Sharif, which further enhances his status in the eyes of his subjects. He holds the highest Islamic office in his country, *Amir al-Mu'minin*, or commander of the faithful, and is chairman of the committee of Morocco's ulama, the religious scholars, as well as the Jerusalem committee of the Islamic Conference Organization.

Hassan is also widely believed to have special mystical powers—*barakah*—a belief which is particularly strong in Morocco's rural areas, which are the strongest centres of his public support, according to Abitbol. He maintains the traditional custom of Islamic leaders of receiving a ceremonial pledge of allegiance, or *bay'ah*, from his subjects, and has been known to accept such a pledge from whole Moroccan tribes. While often attired in formal Western suits, Hassan has also consciously promoted his populist religious image by appearing in a traditional caped white robe.

HASSAN, who in a United States' CIA report in 1979 was given only two years more to rule, has effectively consolidated his political power against local opposition groups, Abitbol says. The king permits the representation of opposition parties, including the Communists, in parliament. Their established activity within the political system has made them obedient to its regulations, and they do not pose a revolutionary threat.

Hassan has, when necessary, successfully intervened and manipulated the political system, even to the point of arresting his critics to block potentially threatening moves.

The king has also effectively neutralized, for the time being, two major potential threats to his regime: the army and Islamic fundamentalist groups.

The army's successes in its war in the

# Hassan's gesture without risk

Joel Greenberg interviews Prof. Michel Abitbol, a North Africa expert who believes that King Hassan was motivated by personal reasons as much as any other in inviting Prime Minister Peres to visit Morocco.



backward life and traditions of the "wild Beduins" in those regions. This was contrasted with the perceived superiority of unique Moroccan culture, identified historically with the Andalusian heritage of Arab rule in Spain.

This critical view is still maintained by the Moroccan intellectual elite, and was apparently instrumental in enabling Hassan to play the role of a semi-external mediator, while maintaining his commitment to Arab solidarity.

AT THE SAME time, Abitbol notes, the very distance which has made it easier for Hassan to involve himself in mediation efforts has reduced the significance of this week's development. Hassan is not a direct party to the conflict with Israel, and his meeting with Peres had fewer implications for resolving the conflict than Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977.

Hassan was partially motivated to initiate mediation efforts and meet Peres by the decolonization in Morocco and the rest of North Africa, which Hassan perceives as a model for the Palestinian problem, says Abitbol.

According to him, the king sees similarities between the Palestinian struggle with Israel and the Algerian movement for liberation from French colonial rule. He believes Israel should think in decolonization terms, learn from the North African experience, and start talking with the PLO in order to avoid the radicalization of Palestinian national groups, as happened in North Africa.

Hassan has also been moved to action by a strong spiritual strain in his outlook, which, according to Abitbol, he acquired during his studies in France. Hassan views the Arab-Israeli conflict as not only a political dispute, but also a struggle between Muslims and Christians, and Jews. He believes in the need to resolve this religious struggle and achieve what he sees as a great harmony between the three monotheistic religions, the "sons of Abraham."

AS FAR AS the monarch's image is concerned, Abitbol believes the meeting with Peres will pay off handsomely. It was a public relations coup, an event that captured world attention, and it is bound to enhance his international status. It will also boost the Arab cause in the eyes of the West.

In his speech to the nation after the

summit, Hassan said he had presented to Peres the only agreed Arab peace plan, and had been rebuffed. According to Abitbol, Hassan can now point to his efforts as a gain for the Arab world—a genuine Arab attempt at dialogue, which cannot fail to be appreciated in the U.S. and Europe, and increase sympathy and perhaps material payoffs for the Arab states, especially Morocco.

So far, Hassan has paid a much smaller price in the Arab world for his actions than did Sadat in 1977, Abitbol says. This is partly due to the simple fact that his act was no longer unprecedented. However, the style in which he handled the summit also worked to reduce the Arab backlash.

The king did not go to Israel hand in hand, but invited Peres and hosted him in his own palace, without public state ceremonies. He offered no political or territorial concessions, but represented the broad Arab consensus by making the 1982 Fez plan the basis for discussion.

He held the meetings in isolation from the outside world, blocked out media coverage of the event at home, and made sure that television pictures showing him beside Peres would be screened only after the meeting was over.

The Arab reaction appears to bear out the efficacy of Hassan's strategy. While traditionally hard-line Arab states attacked the king, he has not suffered the consequences—including mass Arab severance of diplomatic ties—that Sadat experienced after his visit to Jerusalem.

Condemnation by states such as Syria and Algeria was predictable and not new to Hassan, who has for years been the target of verbal attacks by those countries, says Abitbol. Even Syria's cutting of ties is not particularly damaging, since relations between Rabat and Damascus have not been especially warm.

Libya's possible cancellation of its two-year-old unification agreement with Morocco is also likely to be of little practical importance, since the accord has been largely inoperative.

More moderate Arab states, such as Saudi Arabia, have kept relatively silent, and appear to have tacitly approved the king's moves.

However, concludes Abitbol, King Hassan, a Western-oriented ruler concerned about the destabilizing influence of Palestinian radicalism in the absence of a peace settlement, is ultimately playing to neither the Arab nor the Western world. "More than anything else, he is playing to himself."

THE U.S. Administration was very anxious to try to take as low a profile as possible in the immediate aftermath of the surprise summit in Morocco between Prime Minister Peres and King Hassan. American officials went out of their way to stress that this was strictly an Israeli-Moroccan initiative.

The U.S., they said, may have been informed of the talks a few days in advance, but that was the extent of it. It had not orchestrated this event.

Publicly, the White House and the State Department issued very glowing statements welcoming the arrival in another Arab country of an Israeli leader. "We applaud this courageous initiative," said the State Department. "This is an historic opportunity to further the cause of peace in the region and the U.S. government urges all governments to support these leaders."

The Americans have long believed that much of the Arab-Israeli conflict is a psychological problem. There are decades of barriers that have to be torn down. There is mutual hatred. Direct contact would remove some of the misconceptions on both sides. As Arabs and Israelis began to talk to each other, new perceptions would take hold. And eventually, concessions which today might seem impossible would become more realistic over time.

Thus, Hassan's receiving Peres publicly—in and of itself, irrespective of the outcome of those talks—had to be a good thing.

But there was still no hiding the sense of concern and doubt of many U.S. officials. They certainly had not expected any overly dramatic breakthrough from this one round of talks. From the U.S. point of view, the key issue remains unresolved: who will represent the Palestinians?

Hassan's television address on Wednesday evening suggested to the Americans that he and Peres had not achieved very tangible success in resolving that problem. Hassan had publicly put a rather gloomy spin on his talks with Peres, raising serious doubts in Washington about what happens next.

The Americans were worried about the diplomatic fallout, especially the ramifications for Jordan's King

## Bush aims to exploit 'crack in the wall'

Wolf Blitzer / Washington



Preparing for the meeting? Peres at a Mimouna festival in Jerusalem in 1982.

Hussein. The initial hope was that Hassan's action would make it easier for Hussein to do likewise. Everyone knows that the Jordanian king has held secret talks with Israeli leaders over the years. But he so far has refused to go public—as Hassan did this past week.

But the hope about Hussein was simply that—hope. The reality, the Americans feared, was that Hussein would not be encouraged to move that decisively. The dangers for him were too real. Hassan and Morocco, geographically removed from the Arab-Israeli conflict, could take that kind of a chance a lot easier than Hussein and Jordan. Could Hussein survive a Hassan or Sadat-like move?

The Peres-Hassan meeting came just as Vice President George Bush was preparing to embark on a 12-day visit to Israel, Jordan and Egypt. American officials said that while Bush was not carrying with him any major new diplomatic initiative, he did indeed hope to promote the stalled peace process. "The Vice President will be seeking the views of the leaders in all three countries regarding this crucial issue," an Administration official said.

For over a year, the U.S. has maintained a low profile in the Middle East. The highest official to visit the area was Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy. His boss, Secretary of State George Shultz, has avoided the Middle East, almost like the plague.

Shultz was badly burned in Lebanon. He lost a lot of confidence in Egypt because of its refusal to return its ambassador to Tel Aviv following the signing of the still-born Israeli-Lebanese security agreement of 1983. The Saudis were also a source of disappointment, especially because of their inability or unwillingness to project greater support for Hussein's peace initiative.

But there is now a very real possibility that that low-key U.S. posture is about to come to an end. Bush, during his talks with Peres, Hussein and Egyptian President Mubarak, will want to see what the U.S. might do in order to get some sort of negotiations back on track.

"Since the end of King Hussein's

initiative in February," a senior Administration official said, "We and all three of these friends have been looking at how to re-energize the peace process." The official said the U.S. still sees President Reagan's September 1, 1982 Arab-Israeli peace initiative as representing "a sound basis for advancing the search for peace." So do Peres, Hussein and Mubarak.

U.S. officials went out of their way to note that the Bush visit was planned several months ago. No one imagined then that Peres would be flying to Morocco a few days earlier. For the Vice President's domestic advisers, the trip was also seen as part of his campaign for the presidency in 1988. A visit to Israel was designed to reassure the American Jewish community of Bush's pro-Israel credentials.

But the dramatic Peres flight to Morocco has given the Vice President's trip a greater degree of importance. There is more interest in the Middle East in the United States these days. People want to know what's going on.

While clearly nervous and uncertain, American officials want Bush to try to take advantage of the symbolism—if not the actual substance—of the Peres-Hassan talks. Hussein, they said, will be encouraged by Bush to follow Hassan's lead. He will be promised greater U.S. support in the process.

But no one is very confident that the Jordanian king will take that bold step. For one thing, he has lost confidence in American assurances of economic, military and political support. Where are the F-16 jet fighters and improved Hawk anti-aircraft missiles promised several years ago?

Syria's angry reaction to Hassan's action was also heard loudly and clearly in Amman, U.S. officials said. Hussein, they said, is understandably going to be cautious.

WHY DID HASSAN do it? That was a key question being heard in Washington. U.S. officials noted that the Moroccan king has long regarded himself as a great statesman and peacemaker. He was, after all, very much involved in helping



U.S. Vice President Bush... off on a 12-day mission to the Middle East.

arrange the Sadat trip to Jerusalem in 1977.

But there is no doubt that American officials also see Hassan as somewhat "flaky." Not "flaky" like Libya's Gaddafi, but in other ways. They recalled his surprise decision last year to enter into a formal treaty of alliance with Gaddafi. The Washington Post noted that Hassan has had a recent history of "eccentric and unpredictable moves."

He seems to love the limelight. But Hassan may not be as "flaky" as some American officials believe. Yes, he will stand to lose some ground among Arab hardliners. But he will clearly gain in Washington, Western Europe and elsewhere. He is being seen as courageous and decisive, willing to take a great risk for peace. What could be so bad about that?

Morocco has also been anxious to win greater increases in U.S. economic and military assistance. Those levels, in recent years, have been around \$125m. Israel and Egypt receive about \$3,000m. each. Why shouldn't Morocco's aid level be increased? Congressional opposition, even in the face of Gramm-Rudman budget cuts, will now be eased.

There is no doubt that the timing for Peres's trip to Morocco was very much affected by the scheduled "rotation" in October when Peres and Vice Premier Shamir will be switching jobs. Hassan has a long-standing relationship with Peres; they had met secretly when he was the opposition leader in the Knesset. There are no such similar ties with Shamir.

But American officials are very doubtful that any sort of serious negotiating process can get going before October. But they sense that Peres is giving it one last chance. They would like to help him. He is well-liked in Washington.

But they are wondering whether anyone else in the Arab world—especially Hussein—will play ball with Peres at this eleventh hour. The chances, they said, are not good.

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NOT FOR NOTHING has Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg been called the Great Survivor. After all, who else has served in all Israel's governments since 1951? And, apart from Andrei Gromyko, in any government anywhere.

Dr. Burg is now committed to quit in September. But two months is a very long time in Israel politics. Nemesis may be just around the corner, but not quite yet, as the saying goes. None of the possible successors surfacing in his National Religious Party is capable of properly replacing him. Certainly not as the wit of the Cabinet, which has earned him the names of "Burgtheater" and "Witzminister." Who else but Burg would have encapsulated all that the new Austrian president symbolizes in the epithet: "Gawaldheim"? Which other Cabinet minister can quote George Bernard Shaw on "I always see to it that I quote myself, so that there should always be something witty to read."? Or amuse an English audience with "British coffee is not my cup of tea."

The canniest of political tight-rope acrobats, Burg has seen everything and known everyone who's been worth knowing. He protects himself from the ultimate sin of boredom by delving into his endless supply of erudite anecdotes.

One choice example: The late Cardinal Spellman on meeting the president of Yeshiva University: "I'm a priest and you're a rabbi, but as colleagues we have much in common. For example, we both wear skull caps. With the difference that mine is red, but my institutions are in the black," with the rabbi rejoining: "How true, my skullcap is black, but my institutions are in the red."

He is certainly the most erudite of our top politicians, a relic of the day when a broad education and wide Jewish and general culture were the pre-conditions for rising to the top. He is the last product of German Zionism to serve in the Cabinet. Yosef Burg was born in Dresden at the zenith of the Imperial German Empire. His parents moved there from the Ukraine, just before Bismarck's death. His father, a prosperous wine merchant, was among the founders of Mizrahi, the religious Zionist movement, formed in 1902, seven years before the current NRP leader's birth.

# Yosef Burg, the great survivor



A canny politician and an erudite man, Yosef Burg, left, is the last product of German Zionism to serve in the cabinet. He is due to retire in September. Post Political Correspondent Mark Segal interviews the NRP leader.



A younger Burg with Cardinal Spellman in 1957.

Prior to the tumultuous Knesset debate on the Reparations Agreement with the Federal Republic, Burg sat up all night looking for answers in the Gemara: "I thought over what our ancient sages were telling me. Then I read Descartes to clear my mind," he recalls. Burg voted with Ben-Gurion, saying that "in retrospect, I believe we would never have coped with the waves of new immigrants and simultaneously fought all our wars, if not for the Reparations agreement. Never forget we increased the Jewish population in the course of only 38 years from 620,000 to 3.5 million. We must always keep that in mind."

When I asked how he feels when he returns to Germany, Burg mentioned that only a month ago he visited the ancient community of Regensburg: "I felt the wings of history brushing me. I know all about the medieval Talmudic scholars who lived in the region of Regensburg and Cologne. I am steeped in the history of German Jewry. It really lasts from the translation of the Bible into German by Moses Mendelssohn in the late 18th century, to the joint translation of the Bible by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig in the mid-20th century. That was the last present of German Jews to Germany. From the sun-

shine of Emancipation to the smoking chimneys of Auschwitz. I define my feelings on visiting Germany as a combination of nostalgia and pain, inspired by the resolve to build a better future."

When Konrad Adenauer, architect of the new Germany, visited Israel in the mid-60s, Burg was his neighbor at the state banquet. He told the former Chancellor: "The bridges to the past are burned. We must build new ones to the future. I say this as a Jew whose mother perished in Theresienstadt and whose grandmother was killed in Poland." Adenauer's response was a strongly affirmative nod.

Taking a lighter tack, Burg recalled how much Adenauer approved of the Carmel Mizrahi wine served him, prompting the story that his first act as Mayor of Cologne was to restore the wine cellars of the Cologne City Hall to their former glory. His explanation: "It's easier to iron out problems there with city councillors over a glass of good wine, than in the council chamber upstairs." Burg then quoted to Adenauer from the Gemara on how "old wine makes wise men happy." Urged to elaborate, Burg drew both on his insight as the son of a wine merchant and his political experi-

ence. He recalls telling the former Chancellor that good wine offers both physiological and psychological benefits to old men. "Firstly, good wine warms old men's bones quickly and makes them feel strong. Secondly, old men, especially politicians, are always accused of being too old to perform their public duties effectively. Now we all know that good wine improves with age, just as good politicians who get better with the passage of the years." The 90-year-old German statesman liked Burg's explanation.

I tried to draw him on a comparative survey of prime ministers, starting with Shimon Peres. It was apparent he liked the man, but preferred to duck behind a quotation from an unnamed Spanish writer: "If you wish to be as good as your predecessor, you have to be twice as good as he." When we talked of the general decline of political standards, the NRP leader quipped: "If you're not a knife thrower, political life is difficult," proceeding to remark with a chuckle: "But then I'm not the founder of the State." It's that kind of disarming confession that distinguishes Dr. Burg from his would-be successors who take themselves ever so seriously.

Discussing his background, Dr. Burg dwelt on his formative influ-

ences - he attended the universities of Berlin and Leipzig between 1928 and 1934 (in the latter city hearing works by Bach played on the actual organ which the composer used). He specialized in mathematical philosophy, with emphasis on the school of neo-positivism of which he disapproves today. "I witnessed the collapse of the Weimar Republic. I saw the street fights between the Nazis and the Communists. That was pivotal to my democratic education, knowing that if the right and the left fight against the centre, then all those in the middle of the road are in great danger. I have prayed it should never happen here. True, we have Kahane, but extremism takes other forms with us, which is very worrying for the future."

Mention of the recent wave of secular and *haredi* arson, prompted him to remind me that when wagonloads of the Talmud were burnt in medieval Paris, people said it was divine punishment for the burning of the Rambam's works by his Jewish adversaries in Provence. "As you can see, things have not changed that much," he noted dryly.

Burg was ordained a rabbi by the Hildesheimer Seminary in Berlin, and refers to a member of the illustrious Hildesheimer family - Dr.

Abraham Barth, later to be a Bank Leumi chief - as one of his two spiritual mentors in the German religious Zionist movement, along with Dr. Aviad Wolfberg, physician and philosopher. He dwelt on having imbibed "the synthesis, or at least, the symbiosis, between Jewish tradition and universal culture" obtaining in the German movement.

This is what he called "Tora vederech Eretz." He believed this to be the response to the impact of emancipation on West European Jewry and the threat of assimilation. Neither were experienced by Jews in East Europe, where the old world of yeshivot remained more or less intact, which continues unchanged today in Jerusalem and Bnei Brak.

"This is happening at a time when the majority of the population of Israel follows a Western lifestyle. Hence the urgent need for this kind of symbiosis in this country," he declares.

Our interview took place against the background of the long-delayed NRP convention, where Burg's once-dominant moderate Lamifne faction appeared to be losing ground to a more militant right-wing alliance. I remember only too clearly the 1969 party convention, when Burg's predecessor as party leader,

the late Moshe Haim Shapiro, was attacked by Gush Emunim zealot Rabbi Moshe Levinger of Kiryat Arba, who screamed at him "traitor, traitor," when the pragmatic Shapiro mentioned territorial compromise in return for peace. Burg for his part says "the moment the religious dimension was added to our discussion of the territorial problem, then the debate moved to another wavelength. If someone should speak of seeking a compromise with the Arabs, then someone else is sure to accuse him of heresy."

The NRP leader can justifiably take pride in his movement's magnificent educational network, from kindergarten to Bar-Ilan University, plus a wide range of yeshivot. Yet the very real failure of this educational structure to ensure the movement's continuity is perhaps embodied in two persons. One is Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz who leads the Shas party. He opted for the anti-Zionist Litvak yeshivot after completing an elite yeshiva high school of Burg's movement, which had been taken over by *haredi* teachers. An even more celebrated example is Burg's son, Abraham, who reached the Labour Party via Peace Now anti-Lebanon war protests. He is today Peres's Adviser on Diaspora Affairs.

Asked to comment on the prime minister's mission to Rabat, Dr. Burg recalled that Golda Meir used to say "if the Arabs are not ready to talk to us about peace, how can we believe they're ready to live with us in peace." The NRP minister saw the Rabat encounter as a continuation of Anwar Sadat's historic breach of the wall of silence. He prayed it would be a further step in removing that obstacle to peace.

Dr. Burg declines to give any estimate of the life expectancy of the national unity government, reporting how the old Labour-Likud resentments are mounting under the rotation-eve shadow. A parting anecdote: When Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir returned from his recent visit to Paris, he told his NRP colleague that a new term has replaced "cohabitation," for the power-sharing experiment of Socialist President Francois Mitterrand and Gaullist Premier Jacques Chirac. It is "cohabitation."

THERE IS nothing new under the National Religious Party's sun, despite the earnest efforts of Yitzhak Yaeger and Yeshayahu Privas. The two are perhaps the biggest losers of the three-day convention hurriedly and inconclusively concluded late Wednesday night.

The convention managed to attend to hardly any business aside from declaring itself the new party central committee and electing a political unknown as the NRP secretary-general. But what it did

simply demonstrate is that it is not possible to change the character of a political entity just by hard work, meticulous plans and good intentions. Political reality is more powerful than the rehabilitators.

The main purpose of Yaeger and Privas, as they set about their task of rebuilding the NRP into a new, more

attractive and more influential party, was to rid it of the cancer of warring factionalism, to institute personal elections instead of factional votes, and to replace the old party-machine bosses with fresh new faces.

To be fair, Yaeger and Privas had an inkling of what was about to happen when they insisted on postponing the really big contest - for septuagenarian Dr. Yosef Burg's cabinet portfolio and leadership mantle - until a second convention session on September 4. As it was, the convention was unable to get around to most of its business.

Elections do not have to be conducted formally on a factional basis for them to be factional. Thus on the face of it, when the convention chose the NRP's new secretary-general on Wednesday it was engaged in a personal vote. But each candidate was backed by a faction, which then entered into a series of alliances with other factions and what ensued was a full-scale factional battle, in good old NRP style.

SO INTENSE was the factional confrontation that had it not been for the hands of the clock, the convention would have ended with a big bang. The triumphant coalition led by MK Ze'evulun Hammer wanted to go ahead with two more votes on the agenda: the election of the NRP's political secretary and the Hapoel Hamizrachi secretary-general. The Lamifne faction, led by Burg and strongman Raphael Ben-Natan, smelt defeat in the air and shouted for a postponement.

When it did not get its way, Lamifne threatened to walk out and to split the four-man NRP Knesset

## Faction and friction in the NRP

Sarah Honig



The NRP's new secretary-general, Rabbi Yitzhak Levi

faction. The real whip it flourished was the threat that, if it did not get its way, Burg would not resign and would hold on to the Religious Affairs portfolio now coveted by his would-be heirs.

The NRP convention looked like coming to a politically even more hopeless end than the ill-fated Herut convention of last March.

It was the ticking of the clock that saved the situation and led the Hammer faction to agree to a postponement. The next day would be the fast of Tamuz 17, and it was clear that, given the slow pace of the convention, there was no way it could manage two votes before sun-up.

The Lamifne faction, which despite its name (change, in Hebrew) is the veteran establishment faction of the party, had good reason to panic. Thus far, it had lost all the way.

Yehuda Ben-Meir of the Hammer faction was chairman of the steering committee, and Rabbi Yitzhak Levi of Matzad, allied with the Hammer group, was elected secretary-general. The situation could only worsen in the battle for political secretary in which Ben-Natan was running against Shaul Yahalom of the Hammer side.

Ben-Natan, the party's outstanding dove, faced a coalition of the Hammer faction, the group supporting MK Avner Shaki, Matzad and even the Religious Women's Movement, Emunah. Lamifne's strategists knew that a dove was likely to fare badly and sought to persuade Ben-Natan to withdraw in favour of a more palatable candidate.

So far, Ben-Natan has rejected all entreaties, though the Hammer faction maintains that it was promised that its arch-foe would not stand in September.

IT IS much too soon to assert that the Hammer faction has really managed to wrest control of the party from Lamifne. Judgment on that will have to wait till September. But what can be stated unequivocally is that no new NRP is being forged. New faces are not really taking over. The old rivals are still in the arena, despite the appearance of new knights in each court.

The two unknown rabbis named Levi (Boaz Levi for Lamifne and the victor, Yitzhak Levi) who ran for secretary-general were both nominated by the two chief factions and their often incongruous allies. The Levis were fighting Hammer's and Ben-Natan's battles by proxy. They were not new faces who had de-

signed to topple the old order and take over the party helm.

They are both arch hawks and both of Oriental origin. But all their nomination showed is that the factions realize that hawks have a better electoral potential in the NRP and that the job of secretary-general had been greatly devalued.

The reason is rooted in one of Yaeger's and Privas's good intentions. To make sure that the old powers-that-be do not hog all leadership posts, and to infuse new blood into tired party veins, the rehabilitators insisted that those who already

### Priorities for Orthodox MKs Page 9

hold party office must muster at least a 60 per cent majority to be elected. This kept the true men of power out of the contest.

IT IS DOUBTFUL that the unknown Levi elected will really be entrusted with the power to run the party and independently introduce a new spirit of change. It is safe to assume that he will remain loyal to his sponsors and will do their bidding.

Yaeger and Privas did not get rid of the old leadership. They just deprived certain jobs of significance and caused the old boys to shift their tactics. The power continues to reside with the major protagonists of yesterday.

They delivered the message to Yaeger and Privas quite bluntly when, on the first day of the convention, they rejected the reformers' proposal for a party central committee of 460 members. All factions, joined by a bond of mutual interest, instead agreed that the convention's 1,000 delegates declare themselves the new central committee. Yaeger and Privas wanted to resign and were barely talked out of doing so.

If that message was not loud enough, Dr. Burg amplified it in a bitter address delivered in true fighting form to a caucus of frustrated Lamifne warriors intent on postponing the Ben-Natan - Yahalom bout. The former interior minister declared that the "Yaeger committee" was worse than the worst committee appointed to run a troubled municipality council.

And if anyone may still like to whitewash the overtones of the convention battles, Dr. Burg provided further enlightenment. "Everything that has taken place at the convention," he argued at the Lamifne war council as the convention was drawing to its indecisive close, "was directed against one faction and one faction only - Lamifne. That was the one goal that united them all. All the other factions had ganged up against Lamifne, and especially against one man in it - Raphael Ben-Natan. Anyone with eyes in his head could see that this was what they were all about."

Maybe it was this way. Maybe it was the other way around. But it all goes to show that it's business as usual at the NRP. Parties are not easily rehabilitated. This convention, which accomplished so little, was at most just a preview of coming attractions on September 4, when the really big prizes in the ongoing NRP battles will be up for grabs. The most agitating question hovering over the NRP - will Dr. Burg finally resign? - will be all the more pointed if Lamifne does not come out on top.

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Red tape and rivalry are endangering the environment. BERNARD JOSEPHS reports

# Manning the 'Doomwatch'

IN ENGLAND they call them the "Doomwatch" men. Their exploits are so famous that they made a TV series about them.

In the U.S. they wrought a near revolution with vast crowds ready to demonstrate in the streets.

But in Israel, the men who look after the environment feel neglected and sorely under-represented.

Their day will come, they know. What happens in the U.S. one day generally happens in Britain the next — and eventually ends up happening here too.

The question is, will that day come quickly enough, or are they destined to fight a losing battle against the poisoning of the country?

Israel's "Mr. Environment," Dr. Uri Marinov, says he is optimistic. He admits he has to be. "Only optimists can possibly work in environment. If you are pessimistic you can easily imagine a scenario in which life will simply cease to exist."

Marinov is head of the Interior Ministry's Environment Protection Service (EPS), whose team of experts are ready to spring into action any time someone dumps poison chemicals down a well, or pumps a smokestack full of sulphurous fumes into the air.

When citizens turn on their kitchen taps and find there is gasoline in the water, when an industrialist decides to unload tons of waste onto the side of the road, the buck stops on Marinov's desk.

He sees the EPS's task as nothing less than a fight for survival. "Some people say we are too extreme, others say we don't go far enough in fighting pollution. One thing I'm sure of. Defence may be essential to our existence but so is the environment. If we don't look after it then life here could become impossible."

Marinov is proud of the EPS's achievements and, particularly, of its dedicated team of mainly young experts. On one occasion, he recalls, the director-general of a ministry described them as a "youth movement." "I considered that an honour," he says.

But he has no illusion about the size of the job facing them and about the problems standing in their way. The main stumbling block, he says, is that unlike the situation in many other countries, the environment is not politically fashionable in Israel.

"Without any question we need a Ministry for the Environment, with a minister who is ready to fight for us in the cabinet," he says. "In 1977 there was an energy crisis and we created an Energy Ministry to deal with it."

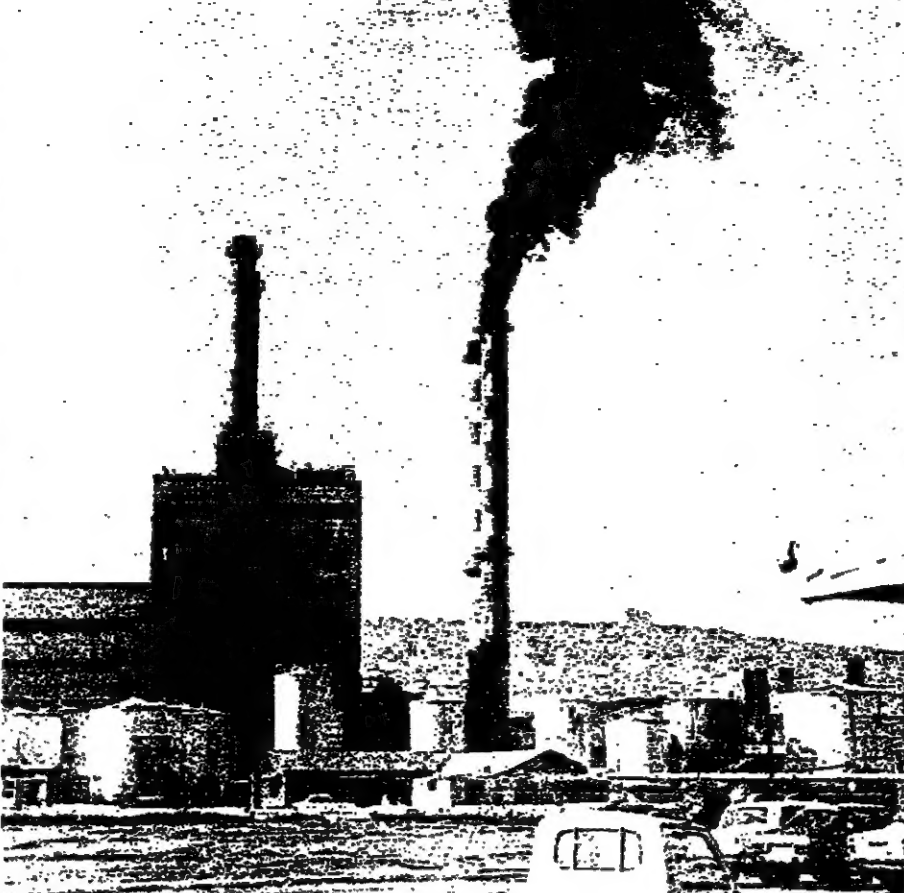
"Now we are facing a grave crisis in protecting our natural resources, our water, our air, our land. We must have a political voice to back us."

Such a ministry, he asserts, would streamline the process of strengthening environmental law. It would do away with a situation in which legislation, which is desperately needed, is sometimes held up for years, or not enforced, because of inter-ministerial rivalry — and because few members of the Knesset care that much anyway.

He cites one example: "We tried for two years to get the authorities to build evaporation ponds for the disposal of waste at the chemical plant at Ramat Hovav in the Negev. Finally the matter came up and the Ministry of Defence raised an objection, saying the ponds would interfere with army activities. We haven't been able to overcome that objection. But I am sure we could have done if there was a minister for the environment to argue the case."

"No matter how dedicated and energetic we are it is very, very difficult for us to get positive decisions in the cabinet. Yet it is there that the major ecological issues, such as nuclear energy and industrial development, are discussed."

Marinov identifies the protection of fresh water as the most urgent problem currently facing his team. Israel, he says, has some of the best water legislation in the world, including a "very advanced" chapter on preventing pollution. But unfortunately, and for various bureaucratic reasons, these regulations have rarely been enforced. As a result there is not only a desperate water



(Israel Sun)

shortage but also heavy pollution in those resources.

Marinov continues: "We see pollution of fresh water through industry, through the dumping of waste and through the draining away of untreated sewage. All this is against the law. Yet I don't recall one case where the regulations have been enforced by bringing someone to court."

"The Minister of Health admits that a good number of people are drinking polluted water. We know that fresh water is as

crucial to our existence as the IDF, and yet we do not enforce the laws. It defies explanation. It is irrational."

The disposal of hazardous waste is another field in which administrative foul-ups have prevented proper control, says Marinov. Responsibility for this is divided amongst nine different ministries and public organizations, with no clear-cut decision on what to do in the case of an emergency.

"Following the chemical plant disaster at Bhopal, India, and a few, thankfully much

less serious incidents here, we submitted proposals to the cabinet.

"We recommended the setting up of an inter-ministerial committee to establish emergency procedures and a central public information service in the case of such a disaster. The ministers have been chewing this over now for more than a year and so far they have come up with very little. I understand there are a lot of differences between them. But they are working very slowly on something that is extremely urgent."

In regard to air pollution, Marinov pointed out that the law has not been altered since 1961, when it was considered pioneer legislation. Knowledge about, and causes of, air pollution have changed considerably since then, yet the EPS fights on, using outdated legal weapons against a modern menace.

"We prepared an amendment to the law but we have been trying unsuccessfully for three-and-a-half years to get it passed. The amendment would provide us with the power to appoint air pollution inspectors and to enforce higher standards. But unfortunately, because of political rivalry and the fact that the environment does not have political appeal, we can't get it through the Knesset."

A private member's bill on the issue, by Likud MK Dov Shilansky, is a spark of hope that the Knesset may eventually tighten controls.

Despite all this, Marinov says that air pollution has not become worse in the last five years. Only last week the police investigated allegations that the Haifa Oil Refineries have caused sulphur pollution in the area.

However, the outlook is not bright. Plummeting oil prices have brought a 13 per cent increase in the use of petrol in the last year, and that has certainly fouled the air, he complains.

Even worse, because it is cheaper, the Energy Ministry is planning to burn more oil and less coal in its power stations. The switch to coal had seen a big improvement in air quality. Now there is a danger of a return to previous conditions.

Marinov says he favours a tax on petrol to restrict its use. "This country has a great public transport system and there is no reason for people to use their cars as much as they do. We should use a petrol tax to make bus travel cheaper."

In any case, the EPS has asked the Energy Ministry to start talks on reducing lead levels in petrol. The aim is to go for the level allowed in the EEC, which is less than half that permitted here.

Surprisingly, says Marinov, noise pollution is the biggest source of complaints to his team. The EPS is now involved in "deep

and complex" discussions with the Ministry of Transport and the Airports Authority on new runway configurations at Ben-Gurion.

On a much smaller scale, complaints are received about noise from discotheques, machinery, sports stadiums and schools. "We are waiting for an amendment to the law which will allow us to appoint noise inspectors," he says.

Notwithstanding this somewhat gloomy analysis, the situation is not all bad, insists Marinov. The EPS itself is evidence that the environment has been promoted from the bargain basement of public issues.

When it started as a sub-section of the Prime Minister's Office in 1973 there were six full-time staff. Now it has a highly-qualified staff of 140.

Says Marinov: "We have had to overcome indifference, the economic squeeze and lack of representation but we have accomplished a great deal."

He points to the campaign to wake the public up to environmental dangers. "When this country first became independent the aim was to develop as fast as possible, whatever the cost to the environment. Now through our work in the schools, the media and through many special projects involving the public, we are seeing a change in attitude. There is definite progress."

The EPS has also set up environmental units in dozens of local authorities throughout the country. "This is our great success. Before we started with it the local councils did not have the infrastructure to deal with ecological matters."

"Now we have 90 people working with them and we are able to provide the authorities with the professional help they need to deal with complex matters."

The transfer of responsibility from the Transport Ministry to the EPS on matters of marine pollution has led to a dramatic improvement in the state of the coastal waters and beaches, Marinov reports. "This is an example of what I would call complete environmental control and should be used as a model."

Finally, he singles out the anti-litter campaign for special praise. The EPS has appointed 7,000 inspectors to report on litterbugs. And since the law was introduced in 1984, some 2,500 prosecutions have been handled, with fines reaching as high as NIS 2,500.

But Marinov is still not satisfied. "I don't think I ever will be because there is so much work to be done and so many improvements to be made. The public are still half asleep over the environment. Sometimes I find myself hoping for an environmental emergency. Israel is good at crisis management. Maybe that is what they need to wake them up."

## Battle of the beaches is now being won

Menachem Shalev

THE ISLAMIC revolution in Iran and the acute water shortage in Israel — otherwise considered unmitigated disasters — have proved to be godsend for the country's beaches.

The beaches are cleaner than ever before. Bathing no longer spend hours scraping tar off their feet and bathing suits. Regular clean-ups of the sands have made the quintessential Israeli pastime a more esthetic experience.

In the water, those "UFOs" (unidentified floating objects) — which were in fact easily identifiable by their all-too-familiar smell — are also a disappearing phenomenon.

Beach-goers can thank Ayatollah Khomeini for stopping the Iranian oil exports which used to run through the Eilat-Ashkelon oil pipeline. The curtailment of activity at Ashkelon's oil port has brought about a sharp drop in the number of spills from tankers, and consequently less tar which forms when oil mixes with elements in the sea water. The black substance had been a regular feature at the beach.

And the water shortage, a source of grave concern from any other point of view, has made sewage



(PCA)

water — previously dumped without a second thought directly into the ocean — a valuable commodity which is now being recycled and used for crop irrigation.

A decade ago, for example, there were 10 sewage disposal points in Tel Aviv, dumping their waste into the Mediterranean. Today there is only one, at the Reading Power Station near Tel Aviv beach.

ANOTHER significant reason for recent improvements and the new conscientiousness about beach cleanliness is, surprisingly, bureaucratic.

Contrary to most other environmental concerns, which fall under the authority of a confusing myriad of ministries, agencies and authorities, the sole authority and responsibility for the protection of our beaches is vested in the Marine Pollution Section (MPS) of the Interior Ministry's Environmental

Protection Service.

Not only does the MPS have an almost uncluttered field of action, it even has the resources to do it effectively. MPS operates on the "polluter pays" principle, and it is funded by an Anti-Marine Pollution Fund, to the tune of about \$500,000 a year.

The fund, untouchable by budget-cutting-hungry Treasury officials, is financed by fees paid by every ship that docks in Israel, by terminals which receive fuel from the ocean and by the substantial fines levied on pollution offenders who are vigorously pursued and prosecuted by the MPS.

Dr. Yuval Cohen, who has a doctorate in oceanography from Oregon State University, heads the MPS. "I don't want to give the impression of complacency," he says, "but there is no doubt that there's been a remarkable improvement in the state of our beaches and pollution of the ocean waters."

Cohen believes that one of the reasons for the remarkable efficiency concerning the issue has to do with the fact that the beaches constitute the main recreation of Israelis. "I think everybody just got fed up," he says.

Cohen proudly points to a series of aerial photographs of the beach at Beit Yammal, north of Netanya. The first, taken in 1975, shows two thick black strips of tar running along the beach. The last, taken in 1984, shows no tar at all.

Dr. Avraham Golik of the Institute for Ocean and Lake Research in Haifa found that in 1975, the average amount of tar found on a metre of Israeli beach was 3 kilograms. In 1984, only 30 grams per metre were found, a hundredfold decrease.

IN 1983 a new international treaty called the Marpol (Marine Pollution) treaty came into force. The treaty obliges all ships to use special

equipment and follow special guidelines to prevent oil spills.

Cohen gives an example of the improvements instituted on ships: previously, a look-out on the deck who saw an oil spill had to run to the engine room to stop the pumps. In the two minutes needed to get to the engine room, thousands of gallons of oil or fuel would spill into the ocean.

Now the look-out is equipped with a remote control which allows him to bring the ship's pumps to an immediate halt, by pressing a button.

The Mediterranean is especially susceptible to marine pollution. Although it constitutes only 1 per cent of the earth's ocean surface, over a third of the world's oil and a sixth of the world's commercial shipping pass on its waters.

Cohen says that while most northern Mediterranean countries have adopted strict measures to prevent oil spills and marine pollution, the southern Mediterranean countries still have a long way to go in this field.

"Anybody who goes to the beach can find bottles and cans with Greek and Arabic writing on them. So what other countries do is crucial," Cohen says.

The MPS has its own "pollution patrol" — 4 jeeps which constantly

monitor the country's beaches.

Eilat, whose very lifeline as a tourist centre depends on clean beaches — and where there are numerous potential offenders in neighbouring countries — merits its own Marine Pollution Control Station which is manned 24 hours a day.

LAND-BASED pollution sources — sewage and industrial waste — is a problem mainly in the north. The municipalities of Acre and Nahariya insist on dumping all of their sewage directly into the sea. The intensive industrial zone near Haifa also spills much of its waste into the waters.

Cohen admits that rectification of this hazardous situation is proceeding at an unsatisfactory pace. He points out, however, that industry on the whole is cooperating. The Haifa Oil Refineries, for example, have recently invested \$2.5m. in superior waste disposal machinery.

Israel has 200 km. of beaches, of which 20 km. are official bathing beaches, 70 km. are closed to the public for various reasons (docks, industry, army) and 110 km. are unofficial beaches which are nevertheless open to the public.

The authorized beaches are cleaned by the local municipality, but the 110 km. of unauthorized

beaches were previously a virtual no man's land, with mountains of refuse piling up.

Since 1984, the Anti-Marine Pollution Fund has financed massive yearly clean-up operations of these beach areas. In 1984, 40 km. were cleaned and in 1985 100 km. were cleaned.

The 80 authorized beaches are to be cleaned daily. In the past few years, bathers in Tel Aviv have noticed the remarkable improvements in the quality and cleanliness of the beach. But other municipalities, such as those in Acre and Be'er Tuvia, are noted for their lack of effort in this regard.

In the long run, Cohen thinks the only way to keep the beaches clean is by educating the public. "We believe that the best way to go is through the children," he says. "We distribute stickers and clean up bags at the beaches. We haven't succeeded yet," he adds, "but the public is slowly learning."

In any case, the state of our beaches and the relative lack of pollution in ocean waters belies our usual scepticism about the impossibility of changing things. If enough people care, and if the tools are made available, even the foggiest waters can be cleared up.

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WHAT WAS THE American role in arranging the milestone encounter between Prime Minister Shimon Peres and King Hassan of Morocco? U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering gently dodged the question when I met him and his wife, Alice, at an al fresco dinner party given Monday night by Kena and Zalman Shoval in their North Tel Aviv penthouse roof-garden. As it turned out, we dined as Peres was winging his way to Rabat. I knew Pickering had just got back from Jordan, where he'd met King Hussein, his good friend since his years at the Amman embassy.

Meanwhile, until further notice, credit for arranging the Peres visit is being ascribed to such diverse personae as Labour Knesset faction chairman Rafi Eder, U.S. Sephardi Federation head Lillian Shalom (both Moroccan-born), and *Ma'ariv* correspondent Tamar ("African Queen") Golan.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Minister-without-Portfolio Yigal Hurvitz were equally tight-lipped on the Rabat visit. They reached the Shovals together with the Pickering and Yitzhak Moda'i, who had just announced his resignation as justice minister, and his wife Michael, World Wizo chairman. Some guests came directly from the Lavi unveiling ceremony, where they heard Republican presidential hopeful Jack Kemp's overlong speech during his "if-it's-Monday-it-must-be-Israel" super-quickie visit.

THE UNANSWERED question of the week (to borrow from Hamlet): "Is there a method in his madness?" remains hovering over Moda'i after he talked himself out of the Justice Ministry three months after justly disengaging himself from the Treasury.

Maybe only experts on psychopolitics could explain why Moda'i, acknowledged as a capable if mercurial person, should every so often become a walking political time-bomb. Other questions: Why could he not have emulated Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon's canny

# Who was the shadchan?

PUBLIC FACES  
Mark Segal

conduct since the cabinet crisis named after him? Did Moda'i quit only because he knew his fellow Likudniks wouldn't back him? Or did he pre-empt Peres in order to put Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir so much in his debt that he could be certain of getting back to the Treasury after the October rotation?

Moda'i's dentist Dr. Oded Emody kept telling people at the Shoval party that he is responsible only for his patient's teeth, not for the rest of his mouth.

DEEPENING rotation-eve Likud suspicions of Labour motives induced Agudat Yisrael's jovial MK Avraham Shapira to remark: "Should Peres say he's going to Rishon LeZion, they'll link it to the rotation issue, because it starts with an 'R'. Not to mention Rabat..."

By quitting as he did, Moda'i may have done more for Peres than he ever did during his years in his government. Peres sorely needed such a demonstration of toughness at a time when his leadership is seen to be sorely sagging. His abstention on the Raphael Recanati dismissal demand by Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno, along with Defence Minister Rabin and Deputy Premier Yitzhak Navon, brought an assertion from fellow Labourites that the leading team of the 1984 elections has become the schlepped-along team of 1986.

PRESIDENT Chaim Herzog's popularity has never been higher, as attested by the enthusiastic public welcome wherever he goes. This is seen to reflect widespread support for his role in the GSS affair.

He was encouraged to hear approval of his bestowal of immunity from prosecution to GSS chief Avraham Shalom and other Shin Bet operatives from Dr. Henry Kissinger, whose frame of reference was the presidential pardon of his first boss, Richard Nixon, by his second

one, Gerald Ford. Dr. K. is also reported to have told New York friends that "it's a great pity the presidential move was not properly taken advantage of," airing his fears "lest Israel destroy its famous Shin Bet as we in America ruined the CIA."

Kissinger's audience apparently included Morris Abrams, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, who during his current Israel visit confessed to friends that today he regrets having so strongly opposed Ford's move.

When Democratic presidential hopeful Gary Hart called at Beit Hanassi, Herzog compared "the gap between the media and public opinion" in Israel on his handling of the GSS affair to that of the U.S. media to President Ronald Reagan's Grenada operation order - with Hart concurring.

IT SEEMS that Herzog is disenchanted with Peres & Co.'s prevarication over the GSS pardons after their initial approval at the crucial cabinet meeting. Only Ezer



U.S. Ambassador Pickering... no comment (Andre Brummann)

Weizman was consistent in being against them from the start.

Prior to acting, Herzog set out five conditions: unanimous cabinet support; Attorney-General Yosef Harish to be party to the decision and confirm the president's constitutional right to act; Justice Minister Modica'i to make recommendations in keeping with the law; a commission to revise Shin Bet operational guidelines; this to be the end of the GSS affair.

To put it mildly, presidential condition No. 5 has not been met.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY Kremlinologist Amnon Sela, pouring cold water on Soviet consulate rumours, spoke of "a combination of Soviet paranoia and Israel megalomania" in the context of Israel's supposed influence in Washington. Does that also explain the headline: "Shamir: Israel To Mediate Between Belize and Guatemala"?

A NEW nadir in exchanges between MKs Deputy Foreign Minister Ronale Milo ("You're a fraud") vs. Energy Minister Moshe Shohat ("You're corrupt"); MK Haim Druckman ("Foul mouth") vs. Yossi Sarid ("Foul-bearded") prompted Movement for a Good Israel secretary Avner Avneri to propose a booby prize for the rudest member of the Knesset like the award for the poliest one. Current holder of the latter is Aharon Nahmias.

ALTHOUGH Ezer Weizman was conspicuously absent from the Lavi launching ("As defence minister I okayed a Mini-Minor, today we've got a Cadillac"), he went out of his way to welcome 18 fellow War of Independence heroes, survivors of the 30 Mahal volunteers from English-speaking countries - all World War II pilots - who founded Fighter Squadron 101, the basis of Israel's airpower.

South-African born Leslie Shagham, who became IAF opera-

tions officer and a founder of El Al, was deeply moved by the week-long red carpet reunion, which included being guests of honour at the new pilots' graduation parade. During their tour, the veterans paid their respects at the graves of fallen comrades, including those of non-Jewish volunteers at the Haifa Christian cemetery.

DISCOUNT INVESTMENT chief Dov Tadmor explains national political differences thus: Americans run for Congress, the British stand for Parliament, while Israelis sit for reelection. Incidentally, the quietly elegant Dan Caesarea Hotel poolside wedding of his daughter, Lili, to Meir Arnon, son of late Bank Leumi executive Dov Arnon in the presence of half the cabinet, IDB owner Raphael Recanati, Bank Leumi chairman Eli Hurvitz and their respective cohorts, is causing the banking community to wonder whether there's any broader union on the horizon.

IT REALLY looks as if movie mogul Menahem Golan is going to make Israel into "Hollywood by the Mediterranean," judging by his import of stars for his ongoing \$12m. kiddie movies' series to fill his 1,104 cinemas. Cannon executive Yitzhak Kol told me that in addition to bringing over Diana Rigg and seven little actors led by the famous Billy Barty for *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, they've flown in Sara Petersen for the title role in *Beauty and the Beast*, Rebecca Moray for *Runaway Train*, John Savage for *The Deerhounds*. Cameraman actor Yossi Graber co-stars with Petersen as Beauty's father - the first Israeli to get a top role in the series.

TEL AVIVIANs continue to be divided over how Mayor Shlomo Lahat snorrored \$750,000 in Germany to crown Zina Dizengoff's Circle with Ya'acov Agan's creation. Some love it. Many think it's the symbol of Chich's kitsch city. Others wonder with comedian Shlomo Nitzan whether it's the town's new mosquito-catcher.



The archeologist at Masada

## Yigael Yadin's unpublished legacy

ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

A SNATCH OF Virgil found inscribed on pottery at Masada and dozens of documents from the Bar-Kochba cave in the Judean Desert are among a rich legacy of unpublished finds by the late Yigael Yadin that are presently being prepared for publication within the next three years by dozens of scholars.

In a major project organized by the Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University, three teams of experts in ancient scripts, pottery and other disciplines have been established to cull the massive store of unpublished material from Yadin's Hazor, Masada and Judean Desert excavations.

Yadin, generally recognized as Israel's outstanding archeologist, died two years ago. He had been unable to complete publication of many of his finds because of the constant pressures of new projects, and his diversion for five years into the wilds of politics as founder of the Democratic Movement for Change and as deputy prime minister.

With his departure from government in 1981, he devoted himself to clearing up unfinished business. He gave first priority to publication of the English version of the Temple Scroll, the longest of the Dead Sea Scrolls. He himself had been instrumental in finding this in 1967 - not in a desert cave, but beneath the floorboards of a Bethlehem antiquities dealer, who had acquired it from Beduin. The English version was published in 1984, the year Yadin died.

The central figure in the effort to complete publication of the Yadin material is Yosef Aviram, director of the Israel Exploration Society and one of the three persons named by Yadin in his will as trustees of his literary estate. A few days after Yadin's death, Aviram met with the other two trustees - Prof. Nahman Avigad and Amnon Ben-Tor - to map out the publication task.

THE FIVE years of excavations Yadin launched in 1958 at Hazor, the largest archeological tel in the country, was the first major excavation undertaken in Israel. The dig permitted Yadin to offer, on the basis of a firmly dated destruction layer, a date of 1230 BCE for the Israelite conquest of the land under Joshua. The first three volumes on Hazor were published quickly in the 1960s, but the pressure of events kept Yadin from completing his summing-up volume.

Dr. Shulamit Geva, who was Yadin's assistant after his return to archeology from politics, is now working on the volume together with others under the supervision of Professor Ben-Tor, who was a participant in the Hazor excavations. Volume IV will contain texts describing the photographs which made up Volume III. Publication is expected in about a year.

The Hazor dig was followed in 1960 and 1961 by the exploration of the Cave of Letters in the Judean Desert, where Yadin's team uncovered dozens of letters and documents from the Bar-Kochba period in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Nabatean. Most of these have never been published. The task has now been assigned to Prof. Jonas Greenfield and Joseph Naveh of the Hebrew University, who are working on the Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean documents, and to Prof. Naphtali Lewis, recently retired from City University of New York, an authority on ancient Greek. Publication is envisioned for the end of 1987.

THE MAJOR task is publication of the massive finds from Masada excavated by Yadin in 1963-5. His popular book on the subject excited the imagination of the world, but he was not granted the time to undertake the scientific publication of his finds, which he estimated would require three volumes.

Shortly after leaving politics, Yadin met with the men he had named as trustees and with Drs. Gideon Foerster and Ehud Netzer, who had dug with him at Masada, in order to discuss the matter. This committee was revived by Aviram shortly after Yadin's death. It organized some 25 scholars into teams dealing with all aspects of the Masada dig, from the broad historical context to details such as glassware and coins.

Work began a year and a half ago. Crates containing finds from Masada were hauled out of the storehouses at the Hebrew University's Institute of Archeology, and their contents spread out on tables filling two rooms. In addition, photographers were dispatched to Masada to take new pictures of architectural elements and mosaics. Many of the original photographs had been lost or were in poor condition.

The final report on Masada is expected to contain much interesting new material, particularly on the Greek and Latin inscriptions found there. The first volume is expected to be completed in about a year, with two others following two years later.

In addition to these major reports, Dr. Yigal Shilo, who dug with Yadin at Megiddo in 1967-70, is preparing a final report on that excavation while Shulamit Geva has already published a report on a short dig by Yadin at Beit She'an in 1983.

IN THE MONTHS before his death, Yadin had been preparing for what he saw as his last tour in the field - a one-season return to Hazor that was to have been undertaken in the winter of 1984. He was convinced that he would be able to uncover in that short period the royal archives of the kings of Hazor, which would provide an immense historical treasure. On the basis of two cuneiform tablets found on the surface of Hazor by tourists, Yadin was almost certain to know where the archive was located.

Deciding against a summer dig because of the heat, which he could no longer tolerate, he had established contact with an American firm that was willing to erect a vast plastic tent over the site to permit a protected dig during the rainy winter season. His death cut the project short and there are no plans for its revival in the foreseeable future.

"It involves a lot of work," says Aviram. "I know where he wanted to dig. A building would have to be excavated and then put back stone by stone after the area beneath it was dug. It requires an archeologist with a lot of will and spirit. We want to finish publication of the Yadin material first. We can think about a dig afterwards."

The Yigael Yadin Memorial Fund established by the Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University is seeking to raise \$1m. to perpetuate his name in the form of scholarly activities rather than buildings. Some \$400,000 would be for the scientific publication of his finds. The remainder would be divided between the endowment of a chair in the archeology of Eretz Yisrael at the university and the establishment of a permanent endowment fund for post-doctoral students in archeology and related subjects.

## More hope than on Monday

Arye Naor considers the Hassan-Peres summit

From that point of view, the visit is reminiscent of the famous Sadat visit to Jerusalem in November 1977. When the late Egyptian president met with then Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, they could agree on two points - that there should be no more war between the two countries, and that the process should continue. For that purpose they agreed on maintaining the communication between them on both the personal and operational levels.

The same approach is applied with regard to Peres's visit to Morocco, even though there are real differences when negotiating with Egypt and when negotiating with Morocco. There is no danger of war between

Israel and Morocco, and the two countries do not have a common border. Therefore, Peres and his host had what the prime minister later described as a dialogue rather than negotiations. But in order to keep the momentum alive, they agreed on keeping channels of communication open through an exchange of letters and the possibility of future meetings.

Foundations were laid for the continuation of the dialogue. "We cannot rely on only one step," Peres said on his way back to Israel. And he is right.

On the other hand, in his apologetic address to the nation King Hassan

expressed a certain degree of dissatisfaction because Peres had not been ready to withdraw and negotiate with the PLO. This is not a surprise: Sadat in his time also expressed some dissatisfaction over the slow motion of the process, and shortly after his Jerusalem visit he wondered why his dramatic, historic move was not met by an immediate, unconditional Israeli acceptance of his proposal. It took another year and four months of intensive negotiations, including summit meetings, the Camp David conference and the aggressive mediation of U.S. president Jimmy Carter, before the peace treaty could be signed. But even when they disagreed on most of the material elements, Sadat and Begin still issued joint communiques in which their separate positions were expressed. They realized the importance of this measure which was employed during the Jerusalem and Ismailiya summits.

From that point of view the joint communique is a success in itself. It deepens the commitment to continue the process, and it defines the areas of disagreement on which negotiations should continue.

But a number of questions still remain. For the time being, long-range, substantial results of the visit cannot be seriously anticipated. Will King Hassan succeed in getting what he himself refused to give President Sadat of Egypt in 1978; namely, Arab legitimacy to the peace process? Will Jordan's King Hussein follow Hassan's initiative? Are the moderate Arab leaders ready for direct negotiations with Israel, or will they insist on an international conference that would likely fail because of Soviet and Syrian participation?

These and other questions were not answered by the joint communique issued simultaneously in Jerusalem and Rabat. And without answers to questions like these, there is not sufficient ground upon which to analyse the talks and come to rational conclusions with regard to the future of the peace process.

Nevertheless, the peace prospects seem better today than they were on Monday. The atmosphere of the Itrane summit, the publicity given to the Peres visit, the positive reaction

from West Bank residents, and the enthusiastic response of President Mubarak of Egypt all lead to an optimistic look at the near future. The significance of the publicity surrounding the visit is commonly shared. Everybody agrees that Hassan's consent to include Israeli correspondents in the delegation gave the visit a summit-like atmosphere and strengthened Israel in its diplomatic battle. In this context the Itrane summit may have a positive influence on Egyptian-Israeli relations. Now, with Egypt no longer the only Arab country to have had open, high-level relations with Israel, an Egyptian-Israeli summit that will mark the renewal of the normalization process is more likely to take place once the Taba arbitration is resolved. Peace is not a static condition that once achieved is forever ensured. It takes a lot of effort to keep it alive, and it cannot be disconnected from other national, regional and international developments.

The visit to Morocco can be regarded as a real success even if it only helps encourage the peace between Israel and Egypt. But in order to ensure that the Peres visit yields positive, successful results, both Morocco and Israel should be open-minded to each other's difficulties and necessities. That is also a lesson from the history of the peace negotiations with Egypt. Peace became achievable when Sadat and Begin realized the other side's difficulties and needs.

This method of negotiating could also be applied today, and it seems more likely, after the Morocco summit. It is now an opportune moment to stir the stalled peace with Egypt, and everything should be done so that this moment does not pass without results.

When the prime minister briefs the cabinet on his visit we shall know if the moment has been reached when decisions must be made regarding the national issues in question. If the Hassan-Peres initiative continues then that moment may be near. And from that point of view Yitzhak Shamir has played for time. He knows very well that when he assumes power in less than three months territorial compromise will be out of the question, and that the renewal of a policy of intensive settlement will ensure that Israel will continue its control over Judea and Samaria. Assuming that other political actors, including Peres himself, are also aware of the importance of time, we can anticipate intensification of the political debate in the coming weeks.

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העיתון הירושלמי

FEATURES

# When evil was necessary

TORA TODAY / Pinhas H. Peli

THERE IS MEANING to most biblical names. Very often the name of a hero ties in with the content or intention of the story. Among the exceptions to this rule is Pinhas, whose name does not seem to have any meaning in any known Semitic languages, nor does there seem to be any connection between the name Pinhas and the story in which he plays a leading role. If we are to believe the Egyptologists, Pinhas means "the Negro," or the "Nubian." Was he named thus only because of his dark complexion, or was there more to the name within the context of the story? Rabbinic literature (Sifrei, Numbers, 131) preserved what must have been an ancient tradition regarding the foreign origin of Pinhas. This was flaunted at him when he took the law into his own hands, killing the high-class couple who flagrantly celebrated Moabite fertility rites in public. His critics, and they have been many, proclaimed that Pinhas's intense zeal did not originate in his utter devotion to preserving the purity and holiness of Israel, but stemmed from his inherited pagan "hot blood."

Indeed, the real motives of zealots are usually hard to detect. Very often, people demonstrate extra zeal against one thing or another only because they are deeply involved with it personally. The ancient midrash quotes Pinhas's opponents taunting him: "Did you see that son of the daughter of Putti whose grandfather prepared calves for idol worship?"

Who was this grandfather who was an idol worshipper? All we know from the Bible regarding the pedigree of Pinhas is that Elazar, his father, "took to a wife one of Putti's daughters and she bore him Pinhas" (Exodus 6:25). The fact that Elazar's wife is the only one (besides Elisheva the sister of Naashon, wife of Aaron) who is singled out to be mentioned with her father's name in

the genealogical list of the Levites, may suggest that she was indeed of foreign origin. We do not know, however, who was this Putti, nicknamed "Putti" by the opponents of Pinhas.

A different rabbinic tradition (Babylonian Talmud, Sota 43a) has it that Putti was a descendant of Jethro. Elazar, the nephew of Moses, thus married into the same family as his uncle. That would explain the attacks on Pinhas. They were aimed actually at his great-uncle who, as we remember, was also criticized for "taking a Negro woman" (Numbers 12:1). The "holy militants," the *natorei karta* ("guardians of the city") of that time, who appointed themselves as watch-dogs over the purity of Israel, now found a good case to validate their criticism against marrying outsiders. Look at Pinhas, they argued, and see how his foreign hot blood led to the killing of one of the heads of the tribes of Israel! Such hot-blooded killing is not a Jewish act!

It is interesting to see how those ultra-Orthodox *natorei karta* of thousands of years ago, who disapproved of the act of Pinhas, join hands with some nice contemporary liberal Jews. Gunther Plaut in his beautiful "modern commentary" of Tora (published by the Union of American Hebrew - Reform - Congregations) wonders how "The Tora states that the crown of God's favour was bestowed on Pinhas and that because he had shown himself zealous his descendants would inherit the priesthood forever." This, according to Plaut, "presents the reader with the serious moral question of how such a priceless reward could be given for an act of killing... By post-biblical and especially contemporary standards, the deed and

its rewards appear to have an unwarranted relationship."

The sensitivity in questioning the merits of Pinhas does not derive necessarily from "contemporary standards." Judaism's abhorrence of killing, without the proper legal jurisdiction (or even with it, under regular legal procedure) did not have to wait for the dictate of "contemporary standards." The talmudic rabbis would have felt just as much appalled by the act of Pinhas, were it not for their deeper understanding of that act in the light of Tora morality. The rabbis condemn killing in unequivocal terms. The Jerusalem Talmud (Sanhedrin 9, 7) tells that Pinhas would have been excommunicated, were it not for the Holy Spirit that rushed to intervene and declared "therefore I grant him my covenant of peace... it should be for him and his descendants a covenant of eternal priesthood" (ibid., 25:12-13). Tora, contrary to the naive "liberal" approach, realizes that there might be a time when even killing becomes a "necessary evil." Such a time was when the incident involving Pinhas occurred.

Moses, who led the Israelites through liberation campaigns, fierce battles and the trials of life in the wilderness, was now at a loss, facing a situation different from anything that preceded it.

"While Israel was staying in Shittim, the men began to indulge in sexual immorality with Moabite women, who invited them to the sacrifices to their gods. The people ate and bowed down before these gods" (25:1-2). In the plague that followed, people died in the thousands and "Moses and Israel were weeping" (verse 7). If it were not for Pinhas, who acted at that very moment, everything that Israel

had achieved till then might have drowned in those desperate tears. "The Moabite fertility cult was to the Israelites the incarnation of evil and the moral enemy of everything Israel represents." At that crucial moment in its formative history, Israel's very purpose and existence were challenged.

It was at that moment that Pinhas, without consulting the perplexed leadership, stepped out from behind his study stall, grabbed a spear and brought an end to the spreading calamity.

His act had a tremendous impact on the future of Israel. Many generations afterwards he is praised for it in the Psalms (106:30): "Pinhas stood up and the plague stopped."

The fact that Pinhas and his extraordinary act were praised and rewarded presented a threat. Should individual zealotry become a way of life? Certainly not. There was also the danger that along with the one genuine Pinhas would arise many other self-appointed Pinhases who would take the law into their own hands "for the sake of heaven," doing what the Talmud sarcastically calls "the deeds of Zimri, demanding the rewards of Pinhas." That is why Pinhas was not pardoned by human authorities nor granted clemency for the sake of public relations. It was God himself who rehabilitated and rewarded him.

The reward was not a medal of war, but a covenant of peace. The priesthood of peace bestowed on Pinhas was meant to counteract, not to affirm, his acts of zealotry. The rabbis pointed out that, against those who defamed him as being a descendant of Putti, Tora stressed his direct relationship to Aaron, who was known as one who "loves peace and pursues peace."

The Tora portion read this week is Pinhas (Numbers 25:10-30:1).

Rabbi Peli is Blechner Professor of Jewish Thought and Literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

## A look back but with the hero absent

HAIM GIL had the very good idea of taking us in *Second Look* on a journey back to the fabled Unit 101, the group of daring volunteers led by Arik Sharon on retaliation raids into Arab territories in 1953. As Shlomo ("Shlomo") Baum, Sharon's right-hand man in 101, told us, the infiltrators were crossing our porous borders and murdering civilians with apparent impunity. According to him, 455 Israelis were killed by the fedayeen between 1950 and 1956, statistics that compare with losses in the ill-fated Lebanese campaign. The government decided to authorize retaliatory raids against Arab civilian targets. Ben-Gurion entrusted the formation of a suitable force to Sharon. Thus 101 was born.

I am generally a great admirer of Haim Gil's creations, but I must say that there were some glaring omissions in this programme. Where on earth was Arik - the young Arik, handsome as a god, the admired of all beholders? Here was a case indeed of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. We heard second-hand reports of things he said and did, but the hero of 101 was conspicuous by his absence.

I may have previously hinted in this column that I am not one of Sharon's greatest supporters. But fair is fair: we must give him his due. The exploits of 101 made him a legend in the land. In fact, the raids did not change anything; up till the Sinai campaign, ever more murderous fedayeen raids took place. Nevertheless, until 101 staged the Kibya raid, most Israelis thought that Sharon and 101 were marvelous.

This brings me to the second great hiatus in the programme - the lack of discussion about Kibya, and its political and moral consequences for Israel. We were told that 66 men, women and children in the village were killed. Baum claimed that the raiders went from house to house, ensuring that the homes were empty, before blowing them up. He did not explain how so many people got killed, but later in the programme he implied that you cannot wage war with kid gloves. As Stalin put it: you can't make omelettes without breaking eggs.

Kibya had a terrific impact on the world and on Israel. Ben-Gurion justified it, Moshe Sharett was furious. The country was even more split than usual, and Ben-Gurion resigned. Sharett, the "peace-monger," became prime minister, with Ben-Gurion making his life impossible from Sde Boker, while Pinhas Laon, as minister of defence, did the same thing from Tel Aviv. The moral aspects of retaliation, which had plagued the Yishuv before the state was formed, became dominant problems after the Kibya incident, and have remained so ever since.

All these consequences flowed from the operations of 101. It may be unfair to have expected Gil to cover everything in depth, but he erred in treating the issues as being the personal problems of the 35 men who formed the unit. Surely he had to look beyond these individuals?

I was astonished to learn that 101 was so small, and that it only functioned for four months. We were not told how many raids they staged, or how many Arabs they killed. According to the legend, we would have expected 101 to have been larger and to have endured for much longer.

I was pleased to note that all the heroes of 101, whom we saw on the programme, were remarkably well-preserved, despite the lapse of more than 30 years. Efforts to get them to compare themselves with their successors resulted in most of them saying that comparisons were impossible because the milieu then was so different from what it is today - the implication was that then Israel was naive, now it is decadent. They all spoke of the old days with justifiable pride.

The son of one of them was killed on the second day of the Lebanese War. He was asked if he blamed Sharon. He said he didn't, but he sounded as if he had his reservations about the matter.

It is interesting that the political,



The Young Arik.

security and moral issues involved in retaliation have still not been resolved, are still splitting the country and are causing recurrent crises. There is nothing new under the sun.

## The last laugh went to Peres

ALTHOUGH Dudu Topaz is generally too brash for my taste, except in that marvellous Julian Chagrin series about the orchestra, I must say that I enjoyed immensely his performance in *Reason for a Party*. The opening scene, in which he portrayed Dudu Dotan finding himself the reluctant hero of a *This is Your Life* programme was a gem.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres had the last laugh on Shlomo Nitsan, who went to town in his portrayal of the premier as a yes-no, yes-no, yes-no ditherer. Within a couple of days Peres had sacked Moda'i and had gone to Morocco to see King Hassan. Considering that in less than two years he has got us out of the Lebanese bog, has stabilized the economy, has rehabilitated our image and restored sanity to the nation, he can hardly be called a ditherer. Still, Shlomo was very funny.

The new system of doing these Friday night entertainments with different directors and different comedies each time is paying off. Earlier series, which were carried by the same comedy week after week, tended to get rather stale. All the productions under the new system have been excellent, imaginative, ingenious and fresh. They have a professional slickness that compares favourably with similar English items.

Arts won, with the connivance of the umpire. I have always said that, in sport, it is more important to have the umpire on your side than to have a brilliant repertoire of shots.

An indignant reader has complained, with complete justification, that in my last week's review of *Dynasty*, I included homosexuality with rape, seduction, incest, adultery, violence, murder, fraud, perjury and treachery among the ills afflicting the rich. I certainly did not intend to place homosexuality on a par with these other sins, and apologize abjectly if anyone was hurt by what I wrote.

Still, I cannot resist the opportunity to point out what a genius I am. Didn't I prophesy, from a few traces of evidence in the first episode - like Stephen knowing classical music and being nice to his future mother-in-law - that he would turn out to be a homosexual? Didn't I say that Matthew would be impotent? Years of watching soaps must have some impact on my brain.

These days it is a good idea to keep one's eye on Educational Television, which is running some very good programmes, presumably to keep the children from driving their parents crazy through the summer months. On Tuesday they showed a very good film about life-savers during the summer vacation, which seemed to me to be very suitable for the young.

I do not quite understand why they chose for our young viewers that excellent film, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, in the previous week. This deals with the devastating effect that the pursuit of the almighty dollar has on the soul. In the light of the prevailing mores of Israel, I hope that our young people will not get the wrong message, and that they will continue to believe that rich is beautiful.

The film is brutal and powerful, and the acting of Richard Dreyfuss as the unscrupulous Jewish social climber is brilliant. I think that I wrote, when I first saw the film, that I thought the presentation of Canadian Jewry in Montreal made this one of the most anti-Semitic films ever produced. This view was confirmed by seeing it again. I wonder how the Anti-Defamation League would have reacted if the film had been made by the Ku Klux Klan.

Incidentally, Educational Television is providing some lovely light holiday fare which I am sure that adults will enjoy. For instance, there is *Just William*, based on Richard Crompton's stories, whose hero bears an astonishing resemblance to one of the most endearing boys I know. Great stuff.

## Priorities for Orthodox MKs

BANNING PORK SALES or passing a minimum wage law - which should be top priority for Orthodox politicians?

The answer of the religious parties since the state was established has been clear. The work is split. The secular parties take care of economics, foreign policy, social affairs; the Orthodox worry about the Sabbath, pork, and which conversions are valid.

After 1967, some Orthodox politicians also insisted that holding on to the territories was a religious issue. But for the most part, the division of labour remained in force. The National Religious Party, Agudat Yisrael, and their recent competitors fight against Sabbath movies and Reform conversions. No one would think to ask what the NRP's economic programme is.

On the eve of this week's stormy NRP convention, that approach was challenged by an all-star team of religious Zionist intellectuals. A group called Hagut publicly demanded a halt to "all one-sided initiatives for religious legislation." Instead, it said, Orthodox Knesset members should focus on social and economic issues.

Hagut (the Hebrew word is used here in the sense of "reasoning" or "direction") is composed of Orthodox professors and heads of Zionist yeshivot, ranging from the dovish Dr. Michael Rosenak to Yonatan firebrand Rabbi Ya'acov Ariel. It includes exactly those thinkers from which a religious Zionist movement trying to rebuild itself should seek a "kosher" certificate. Dr. Daniel

Gershon Gorenberg

Tropper, head of the Gesher movement for religious-secular dialogue, and one of the men who organized Hagut last winter, said that there was "no question" that the timing of the Hagut's public appeal had been linked to the NRP parley.

FORA "RASHT'S commentary" on Hagut's stand, *The Jerusalem Post* turned this week to Rabbi Nachum Rabinovitch, head of the Birkat Moshe yeshiva in Ma'aleh Adumim, former head of Jews' College in London, and, according to Tropper, "one of the most original thinkers" in Hagut.

Rabinovitch said the group's demand that no further change be made in the "status quo" on religion was a "call for a cease-fire to allow for dialogue" between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox. But he gave more basic reasons for opposing legislation on ritual matters.

"First of all, religious observance has value only if it comes out of personal choice. Imposing observance doesn't represent a religious value. Secondly, no law has any chance of legislative success unless there's reasonably wide public consensus supporting it. Otherwise, you are encouraging people to break the law... Most people tend to be law-abiding. But once they see that the law is an ass and that there are laws which everybody breaks, they lose respect for the legal system. From

there to becoming criminal, God forbid, isn't far."

Rabinovitch also stressed that the role of religious leaders should be to "serve as an example of what Tora behaviour is, to spread the understanding of Tora and its value. That's a long, difficult job that takes a lot of energy. So many of us shrink from that responsibility and would rather say: 'All we have to do is pass a law and the problem is solved.'"

The law passed in 1979 restricting abortions was such an example: "After all the hullabaloo, it has not really changed anything. It has only allowed people to deflect their attention from the serious social issues which abortion raises and which need to be dealt with by education, economic reform and social planning. The number of abortions has not decreased and the law has only made more people law-breakers and perhaps made some law-breaking doctors a little richer."

He also considers the battle over the "Who is a Jew" bill, which would have limited state recognition of conversions to only those performed according to Halacha, as a waste of energy. "If all that money and energy were put into dealing with some of the genuine problems we have in education and the schools, I'm sure it would produce much better Jews than we have now."

THEN WHAT should be the priorities of Orthodox politicians? "Unfortunately, the concept that is dominant in much of the Western world, that religion is associated with ritual and worship almost exclusively, has become accepted in our society. Therefore, a law about banning pork is seen as a religious law, but a law concerning minimum wages has nothing whatsoever to do with religion. In fact the minimum wage law is a more vital religious concern than the other," Rabinovitch argued.

Other "religious issues of the first order," he said, were the bank share scandal and the policy of past governments of using inflation to devalue government debts. "If the government defrauds the public, or allows major financial institutions to defraud the public, the foundations of society are shaken."

One religious response to the bank share collapse would be to insist on changes in the financial system, "so that the banks no longer



Rabbi Nachum Rabinovitch (Erwin Schenkelbach)

act as advisers and agents for stocks, having inside information and deciding what they'll tell the public." And all those involved in the decisions leading to the collapse should resign, not just "several people at the top."

RABINOVITCH said he hoped that the "NRP and others" would come towards Hagut's way of thinking. But he stressed that he was not a politician and not in the business of selling a political party. "Hagut isn't an establishment of any sort. We don't have any specific programme." Hagut is also steering clear of partisan politics. Organizer Tropper said that no one with a formal position in a party had been included.

In the future, Rabinovitch said, Hagut might make statements on issues "in the hope that the nation as a whole will benefit by considering problems in the light of the tradition." He also expressed hope that Hagut would find a parallel group of non-religious figures who would be ready to join discussions on Orthodox-secular tensions.

Hagut's intellectuals may not be politicians. But in the week of the NRP's long-awaited convention, they have raised serious questions about the party's path. When the battles over the party offices and internal elections end, the questions will remain.

I was pleased to note that all the heroes of 101, whom we saw on the programme, were remarkably well-preserved, despite the lapse of more than 30 years. Efforts to get them to compare themselves with their successors resulted in most of them saying that comparisons were impossible because the milieu then was so different from what it is today - the implication was that then Israel was naive, now it is decadent. They all spoke of the old days with justifiable pride.

The son of one of them was killed on the second day of the Lebanese War. He was asked if he blamed Sharon. He said he didn't, but he sounded as if he had his reservations about the matter.

It is interesting that the political,

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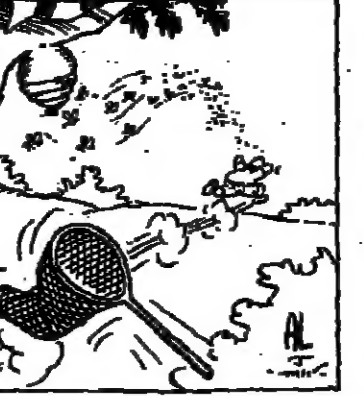
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**Messers, luxurious, 5 room villa for long term. 02-343709.**

**Motza Elite, beautiful villa for rent. 228/22, 233/25, work. Av. Cohen.**

**Shedim, 240, Mikhalev Piv, 4/4 room cottages, high construction standard. 02-244181.**

**Talich, small house, attic, Michael Starr. 02-22871, Makhin.**

**Villa in Ein Karem, extraordinary, 6 room, beautiful view. 02-41568, 16.00.**

**Ramat building, Pigeon Dove, duplex cottage, 5 + garden, 02-24143, sales representative. 02-357111, afternoons.**

**Ramat building in Maale Adumim, duplex cottage, 5, 160sq.m., including balcony, 02-24143, sales representative. 02-357111, afternoons.**

**1-1 1/2 ROOMS**

**Bargain, Golan, 1 room flat, beautiful, Tel Aviv. 72979, 228949.**

**2-2 1/2 ROOMS**

**Old Katamon, 2nd, ground floor, garden, 61,000, 523/15/81, Weinbaum.**

**Talich, Camp, 2nd, nice kitchen, cupboards, 65,000, 223/27, afternoons.**

**2, Arnon Hamat, sunny, breezy, separate entrance, storage. 02-72169.**

**2, southern, private heating, two balconies, 02-22414.**

**Kiyat Moshe, Hashmonai, 2nd, first floor, balcony, 50,000, 02-24143, sales representative. 02-357111, afternoons.**

**Ramat Beit, 2nd, ideal floor, 40,000, Michael Starr. 02-22871, Makhin.**

**3-3 1/2 ROOMS**

**1, Rehov, lovely, 2nd floor, balconies, 02-413000, 02-49520, weekdays.**

**Beit Hakeren, 3, spacious, duplex, 2nd floor, spacious, very well equipped, 02-24143, sales representative. 02-357111, afternoons.**

**Gilo, Tenu, 3, splendid, additions, view, 02-24143, sales representative. 02-357111, afternoons.**

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**Hamodim Hayamot, 2, dining, ground floor, quiet. Capital. 02-32311.**

**Heart of Ashdod, 4, 1st floor, easy access, Ashdod, immediately. 068101.**

**Kiyat Moshe, 3, garden, balcony, solar boiler, 02-86010, 02-86026.**

**Kiyat Shimon, 3/4, phone, heating, immediate. 02-86010, not Shabbat.**

**Messers Yehoshua, villa, 6, garden, furnished, phone, immediate. 02-343709.**

**Ramat Shimon, 5, in terrace, balcony, phone, immediate. 02-86010, weekdays.**

**Ramat Shimon, 4, phone, cupboards, 2nd floor, 61,425, from Sar-30.**

**Rehov Hamat, 2/4, phone, partially furnished, 661/68, 631/53.**

**Talich, 3/4, phone, heating, cupboards, immediate, quiet. 02-60454.**

**Baya Yagor, Nof Hail, 4, immediate, 2 Shabbat, from 16.00.**

**East Talich, shuffling term rental, immediate 3 room flat, phone, excellent location. 710534.**

**Hazong-Shimon, 3, phone, solar boiler, view. 02-930214, weekdays.**

**3, furnished, for summer months, Nili, near Haparnah, 02-669314.**

**Beit Hakeren, 4, fully furnished, phone, from August for year. 02-52104.**

**Beit Hakeren, special, 4/4, 228/22, 233/25, at house. 242/24, at house.**

**For religious Shabbat, Makhin, 3, phone, heating, 02-976348, evenings.**

**House in Baka, Tel Aviv, August-December, D.B. Broker. 02-667776, Makhin.**

**Jewish Quarter, 3, furnished, from September for year. 02-289105, weekdays.**

**Beit Hakeren, 2, spacious, furnished, phone, heating, immediate. 02-52676.**

**Old Talich, 2/4, furnished, long term. 02-22620, 02-22670.**

**Relaxing, for tourists, 2, fully furnished, for short term. 02-63696, weekdays.**

**Religious part of Givat Mordechai, 2, furnished, 10,00-12,00, weekdays. 02-63630.**

**Toussaint, close to Haparnah, 2, dining room, quiet, 669/15, evenings.**

**Toussaint, 3/4, phone, solar boiler, private entrance. 02-825004, weekdays.**

**Villa, 2, Kiyat Yovel, phone, heating, garden. 02-24739, 02-41368.**

**German Colony, rental, for tourists, 1 1/4 rooms, August-September, 1-3 rooms, furnished, phone. Tel. 02-60138, 61,382.**

**Baka, 3, phone, solar boiler, immediate. 02-72270, 02-47319, weekdays.**

**Givat Mordechai, 3, furnished, phone, 02-51383.**

**Rehov, Radak, 3/4, beautiful, phone, 400, for national. 02-286453.**

**Shimon, 4, luxurious, furnished. 02-43507, 02-49814, not Shabbat.**

**Jerusalem branch of national company requires experienced secretary, command of English, Hebrew typing. 245676.**

**Lawyer's office requires English Hebrew secretary, word processing experience. POB 148, Jerusalem.**

**Medical supplies factory requires: 1. Laboratory technician, chemistry or life sciences. 02-53783; 2. Hebrew-English typist. 02-21458.**

**O.R.S., 5 Even Israel, 02-24132-9, requires: 1. Mechanical engineer, knowledge of equipment machinery design. 2. General worker, knowledge and experience in milling and engraving for maintenance work. 3. Welder, knowledge of welding, quality control, management and Arabic. 4. Metalworker/welder (welding electrical parts). 5. Electrician, knowledge of wiring, quality control, management and Arabic. 6. Production manager, full time position and shift. 02-24132, 02-24139.**

**Part time auditor required, B.A. in Economics, proven experience, references. Tel. 02-816546, afternoons.**

**Public institution in Jerusalem requires: 1. Experienced bookkeeper. 2. On-site technical storekeeper, keeper for construction material. 3. Secretary, mother tongue English, experience with English correspondence, English/Hebrew typing. 02-66252, Ashdod.**

**Public institution seeks fund-raiser on commission basis. 02-66380, 02-66384.**

**Required: Consultants and secretaries for boarding school, live in. 02-41371.**

**Required: Consultants for evening work, immediate. 02-41371, 76339.**

**Skilled and unskilled workers, advertisements for Luah Ma'ariv. Pinaim Hariva, 1 Shimon. 02-244465.**

**The consultant's office requires: 1. Bookkeeping clerk, full time. 2. Typist, 24 hours. 02-53122.**

**When Day Care centre in Beit Hakeren requires staff from September. 02-53122.**

**When student's club, Beit Hakeren requires social coordinators for courses. 02-53122.**

**CLERKS**

**Jerusalem, secretary required experienced in receiving phone, evening hours, part time, interesting. 02-916185.**

**Receiving secretary, apply to Men-5, 5 Eilat, on 23/78 at 1200.**

**Required, secretary for D.I.O. secretaries, 02-53122, 02-53122.**

**English secretary required, apply, searching experienced view and experience to POB 1105, Jerusalem.**

**Religious institution requires experienced Hebrew English typist, full time. Tel. 02-44486, 215577, work hours.**

**Urgent, Haila district Hebrew-English typist & computerized text and word processing operation, immediate, 02-53122, 02-53122.**

**Very interesting work, Tel Aviv, 02-24038.**

**SALES STAFF**

**Comprehensive school in Jerusalem requires teachers for: 1. Mathematics, 2. Science, 3. English, 4. Hebrew, 5. Arabic, 6. History, 7. Geography, 8. Music, 9. Art, 10. Physical Education, 11. Social Studies, 12. Foreign Languages, 13. Computer Science, 14. Health Education, 15. Career Guidance, 16. Parent-Teacher Association, 17. School Administration, 18. School Maintenance, 19. School Security, 20. School Transportation, 21. School Feeding, 22. School Housing, 23. School Clothing, 24. School Furniture, 25. School Equipment, 26. School Supplies, 27. School Materials, 28. School Facilities, 29. School Services, 30. School Programs, 31. School Activities, 32. School Events, 33. School Celebrations, 34. School Awards, 35. School Honors, 36. School Recognition, 37. School Appreciation, 38. School Gratitude, 39. School Respect, 40. School Honor, 41. School Praise, 42. School Commendation, 43. School Praise, 44. School Commendation, 45. School Praise, 46. School Commendation, 47. School Praise, 48. School Commendation, 49. School Praise, 50. School Commendation, 51. School Praise, 52. School Commendation, 53. School Praise, 54. School Commendation, 55. School Praise, 56. School Commendation, 57. School Praise, 58. School Commendation, 59. School Praise, 60. School Commendation, 61. School Praise, 62. School Commendation, 63. School Praise, 64. School Commendation, 65. School Praise, 66. School Commendation, 67. School Praise, 68. School Commendation, 69. School Praise, 70. School Commendation, 71. School Praise, 72. School Commendation, 73. School Praise, 74. School Commendation, 75. School Praise, 76. School Commendation, 77. School Praise, 78. School Commendation, 79. School Praise, 80. School Commendation, 81. School Praise, 82. School Commendation, 83. School Praise, 84. School Commendation, 85. School Praise, 86. School Commendation, 87. School Praise, 88. School Commendation, 89. School Praise, 90. School Commendation, 91. School Praise, 92. School Commendation, 93. School Praise, 94. School Commendation, 95. School Praise, 96. School Commendation, 97. School Praise, 98. School Commendation, 99. School Praise, 100. School Commendation, 101. School Praise, 102. School Commendation, 103. School Praise, 104. School Commendation, 105. School Praise, 106. School Commendation, 107. School Praise, 108. School Commendation, 109. School Praise, 110. School Commendation, 111. School Praise, 112. School Commendation, 113. School Praise, 114. School Commendation, 115. School Praise, 116. School Commendation, 117. School Praise, 118. School Commendation, 119. School Praise, 120. School Commendation, 121. School Praise, 122. School Commendation, 123. School Praise, 124. School Commendation, 125. School Praise, 126. School Commendation, 127. School Praise, 128. School Commendation, 129. School Praise, 130. School Commendation, 131. School Praise, 132. School Commendation, 133. School Praise, 134. School Commendation, 135. School Praise, 136. School Commendation, 137. School Praise, 138. School Commendation, 139. School Praise, 140. School Commendation, 141. School Praise, 142. School Commendation, 143. School Praise, 144. School Commendation, 145. School Praise, 146. School Commendation, 147. School**



## BASEBALL: Boston in a spin

## A totally different ball game

NEW YORK (AP). — The Boston Red Sox continue to slip while Ror Hassey's slide helped the New York Yankees tighten up the American League East.

Hassey, a slow-footed catcher, slid safely into first base for an infield hit with the bases loaded and two outs in the 10th inning on Wednesday, giving the Yankees a 3-2 victory over the Texas Rangers.

The Yankees moved within three games of the AL East-leading Red Sox, who lost 9-2 to Oakland, Boston, who have dropped seven of their past eight games, now hold their slimmest margin since June 9.

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

A's 9, Red Sox 2

Carney Lansford hit a pair of two-run homers and drove in three runs as Oakland ripped Boston. Lansford sparked a 16-hit attack that carried the A's to their fourth straight victory.

Tigers 12, Twins 2

Jack Morris won his fourth straight game and hot-hitting John Grubb had a pinch-hit grand slam as Detroit routed Minnesota. Morris, 11-6, saw two errors snap his scoreless inning streak at 32 on an unearned run in the first inning. Morris gave up four hits in eight innings.

Blue Jays 6, Mariners 2

Jesse Barfield hit his major league-leading 25th home run and Dave Stieb got his first career save as Toronto beat Seattle.

Indians 7, White Sox 2

Ken Schrom won his eighth straight decision and Brook Jacoby's two-run single keyed a four-run second inning that carried Cleveland over Chicago.

Royals 7, Orioles 3

Steve Balboni hit a two-run homer and Willie Wilson had a two-run double during the second inning and Kansas City turned three double plays in the first four innings during their victory over Baltimore.

Astros 4, Expos 3

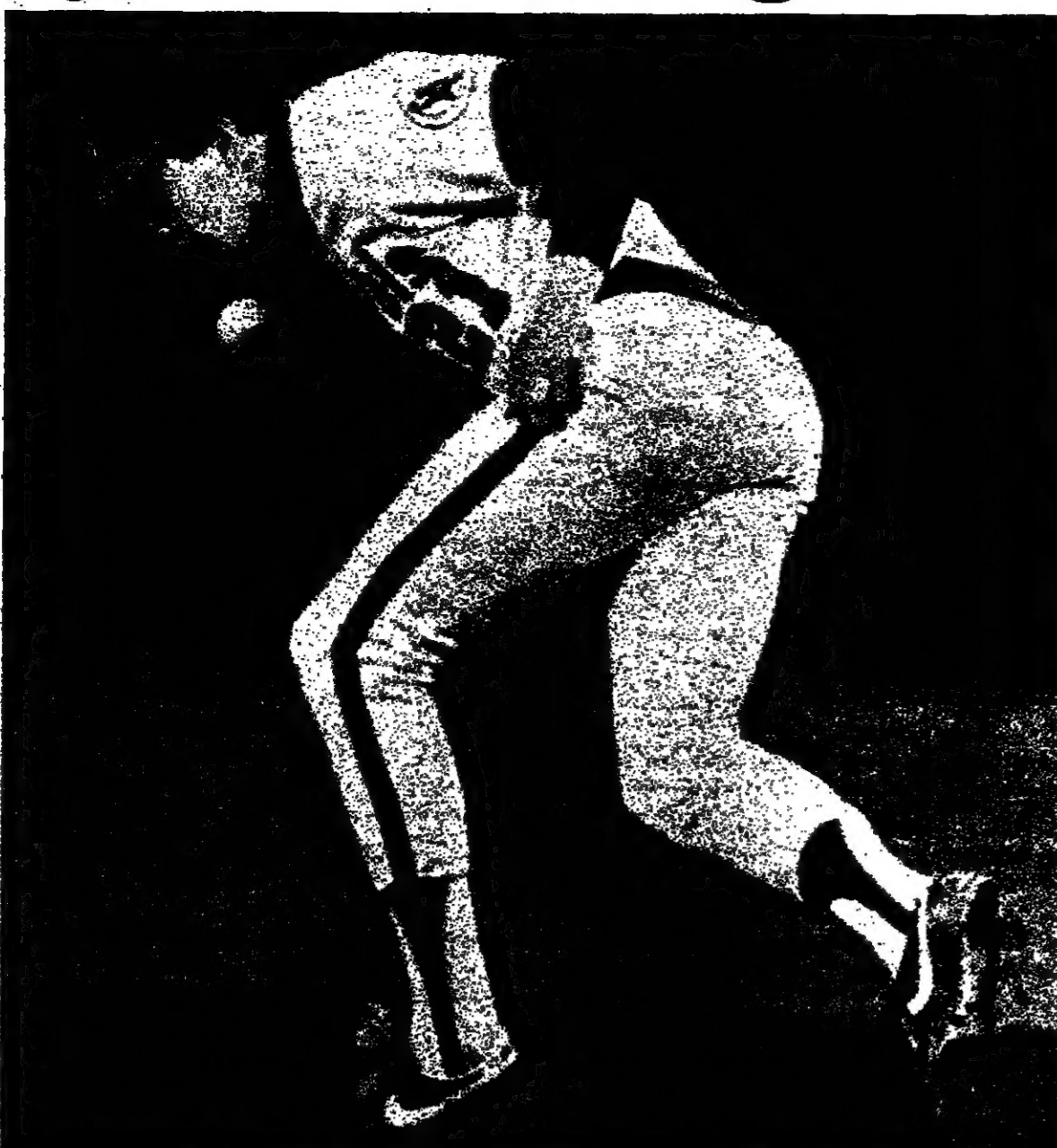
Davey Lopes, playing his first game for Houston, singled home Dickie Thon from second base with two outs in the 11th inning, lifting the Astros over Montreal.

Mets 3, Reds 2

Rookie Kevin Mitchell hit a two-run homer in the eighth inning, giving New York their second three-game win this season in Cincinnati.

Cardinals 4, Giants 3

Ozzie Smith's tiebreaking single keyed a three-run sixth inning, giving St. Louis a three-game sweep of San Francisco.



UPPERCUT. — California Angels' rookie sensation Wallie Joyner takes this bad hop on the chin before making the play on Ben Oglivie's second inning ground ball. California went on to beat Milwaukee 3-2. (Reuter)

Phillies 4, Braves 2

Juan Samuel and Von Hayes homered and rookie Bruce Ruffin pitched a six-hitter as Philadelphia defeated Atlanta.

Dodgers 6, Pirates 5

Ken Landreaux ended an 0-for-18 slump with a two-run homer and Mike Scioscia drove in two runs as Los Angeles defeated Pittsburgh.

Padres 7, Cubs 5

Marvell Wynne's RBI double broke an eighth-inning tie in Chicago and enabled San Diego to break their five-game losing streak. Craig Lefferts, 7-4, got the victory and Rich Gossage earned his 17th save.

## AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	57	37	.606	—
New York	55	41	.573	3
Cleveland	51	41	.554	5
Texas	42	45	.483	14
Baltimore	38	44	.460	17
Seattle	40	45	.471	18
Minnesota	44	49	.473	19

	W	L	Pct.	GB
California	50	44	.532	—
Texas	47	48	.495	3
Kansas City	44	51	.460	6
Chicago	42	51	.452	7
Seattle	40	54	.426	10
Oakland	40	57	.412	13
Minnesota	39	56	.411	14

Wednesday's Games: New York 3, Texas 2, 10 innings; Oakland 9, Boston 2, Toronto 6, Seattle 2, Detroit 12, Milwaukee 2, Cleveland 7, Chicago 2, Kansas City 7, Baltimore 3, California 3, Milwaukee 2, 10 innings.

## NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	63	28	.692	—
Montreal	48	42	.533	14 1/2
Philadelphia	46	46	.500	17 1/2
St. Louis	41	52	.441	23
Chicago	40	51	.440	23 1/2
Pittsburgh	38	53	.418	25

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Houston	51	42	.556	—
San Francisco	50	45	.526	3
San Diego	47	48	.495	6
Cincinnati	42	48	.467	8
Los Angeles	41	50	.450	9
Atlanta	41	51	.447	9 1/2

Wednesday's Games: San Diego 7, Chicago 5; Houston 4, Montreal 3, 11 innings; New York 3, Cincinnati 2; Los Angeles 6, Pittsburgh 3; Philadelphia 4, Atlanta 2; St. Louis 4, San Francisco 3.

## ATHLETICS: Israel Championships

## Foreign 'push' for Israelis

By PAUL KOHN

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Fifteen track and field athletes from abroad will participate in the 50th Israel Athletics Championships tomorrow and Sunday night, in order to "push" the best of the 250 Israeli athletes who will compete in the events at the Hadar Yosef stadium here.

The foreign athletes will come from Belgium, Britain, West Germany, Denmark and the U.S. Of an especially high level will be the American pole vaulters, Scott Davies and Corrie Turpin, who have cleared 5.70 and 5.65 metres. They will give exhibition vaults tomorrow night before the official opening of the championships at 7.30 p.m.

An extraordinary competitor will be 19-year-old woman soldier Dalia Navot, of Hapoel Amakim, who will compete in no fewer than seven events — the 100 metre sprints, 100 metre hurdles, the high and long jumps, javelin and shot putt.

The championship will also see the return of Zahava Shmueli, 30, now the mother of three, who will run in the 1,500 metres where the British women are expected to stretch her. Another who cannot but catch the eye is the stunningly beautiful Sigal Gonen, also a mother, who will be trying to better the Israel record of 6.46 metres in the long jump. Two German girls, Jasmin Feige and Christina Suzuk will be her main opponents.

One of the great races of the championships should be the 5,000 metres where Azie Ganiel will have his work cut out to hold Shmueli Sabagh, previously a marathon runner, who has returned here from studies in the U.S. in order to compete. The Israel record is 13 minutes, 38.8 seconds.

Another runner who has come from the U.S. to take part is Ronnie Maoz, who will have Shlomo Azulai and Dov Kremer as his main local



RUNNING MOM. — Zahava Shmueli (Novitz)

challengers. Spig Norgrad of Denmark and Paul Wym of the U.K. will also be in the field.

The same Israeli runners will also compete in the 800 metres.

Sixteen-year-old Rami Levron may prove best in the long jump, his personal best of 7.48 metres being only five centimetres short of the national record.

## China accepts 'bourgeois pursuit'

PEKING (Reuter). — China, which for more than 30 years banned golf as a bourgeois pursuit, now has 10 golf courses either open or under construction, the New China News Agency reports.

The courses are mostly aimed at attracting foreign tourists and businessmen, but China has also set up a national golf association and hopes to develop a contingent of local players who can compete with the world's best.

The country's first golf club was completed last August in southern Guangdong province near the Portuguese-administered territory of Macao.

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## TENNIS

## Shlomo Glickstein says, 'this may be our year'

By JACK LEON

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel's Davis Cup squad face a very difficult task when they encounter Switzerland in the final of the European Zone B of the Davis Cup in October, yet Shlomo Glickstein is quietly confident that this time the team will earn that long-sought promotion.

"We beat those guys before and I don't see why we can't do it again, hard as it will be," he told me on his return from The Hague. "I have a feeling that this will be our year for promotion."

His reference to beating the Swiss before was to a brilliant 4-1 victory at Ramat Hasharon in the Davis Cup two years ago. But, on paper, this year's match will be far more formidable. The tie will be played on an indoor court in Switzerland. Jacob Hasek, ranked in the 90s in 1984, has climbed to 27. Heinz Gunthardt is 41. The third Swiss player, Roland Stadler, was runner-up to Stefan Edberg in the Swiss Open. As a doubles team, Hasek and Gunthardt are ranked 45. These rankings, combined with the home advantage, make the Swiss odds-on favourites to win.

But Shlomo points out that rankings are often misleading when it comes to Davis Cup matches, which are played over five sets. He demonstrated this himself in The Hague, where he beat Michiel Schapers, 56 in the standings, and Menno Oosting (159th). Schapers is the highest-ranked opponent Shlomo has defeated for two years.

Glickstein told me that his performance against Holland was "one of my best in my 11 years of Davis Cup Tennis." He also praised Perks' skill in the doubles and joined local Tennis Association chairman David Hamik in rating the victory as "Israel's greatest-ever success away from home."

This is the third straight year that Israel has reached the final in their quest for promotion to the competition's 16-nation "world group."

The tie is scheduled for October 3 to 5, but, as these dates coincide with Rosh Hashana, Israel may request



CONFIDENT. — Shlomo Glickstein (Nackstrand)

that the match be put forward to the end of September. Israel lost to Russia two years ago and to England last year.

With regard to his own lowly ATP rankings, Glickstein commented: "The way I am playing at the moment makes me think I belong in the top 50. If I can keep up my present form and maintain the motivation I had against Holland, I really feel I have the ability to climb up the rankings."

Shlomo said that playing indoors against Switzerland should not pose problems for him or his teammates Perks, Amos Mansdorf and Gilad Bloom. Perks achieved his greatest successes on the U.S. Grand Prix indoor circuit last year and he told me that "in fact I am happiest playing indoors."

Hamik reported yesterday that prior to the final, the Israel team will spend a week practising indoors in Europe at a closed camp, in conditions similar to those in which the tie will take place.

The Israelis have won 17 out of their 48 Davis Cup outings so far, eight away from home. Over the past two years, they have scored five easy victories against high-class opposition, never in fact conceding more than one rubber in any of the ties.

## Odizor stuns weary Mayotte

LIVINGSTON (AP). — Manka Odizor of Nigeria stunned U.S. Davis Cup hero and top seed Tim Mayotte 6-4, 6-2 in the opening round of the Volvo Tennis New Jersey Championships.

"Winning at Queen's Club, getting to the quarter-finals at Wimbledon and losing 9-7 in the fifth set to Ivan Lendl and then the pressure of

Mexico was just too much," said Mayotte. "I just didn't have it. I had no will to go a third set."

Odizor, ranked No. 93 in the world, 83 places behind Mayotte, constantly attacked his serve.

Another casualty on Wednesday was fourth-seeded Matt Anger, who dropped a second-round match to Jay Lapidus of the U.S.

## CRICKET: Test match

## Moxon's gutsy debut

LONDON (Reuter). — Martyn Moxon made an impressive debut in Test cricket when he contributed 74, batting with poise and determination, towards England's total of 245 for 5 on the first day of the first Test against New Zealand.

After Richard Hadlee had accounted for Graham Gooch for 18, Moxon and Bill Athey (44) batted extremely well, only Hadlee posing any real threat to them. Both seemed to be set for a big score, when lunch was taken with the score 96 for 1.

Hadlee's first ball in the second over after lunch was a perfect delivery that cut in and flew off Athey's bat in real slip, where Jeff Crowe gratefully grabbed the catch. His exultation turned to dismay when he found that he had dislocated a thumb in holding the ball, and he had to leave the field. Jeremy Coney also went off with a chest muscle injury.

so New Zealand had to field two substitutes.

David Gower, knowing that he was playing for his place, joined Moxon, and the two of them took England to 195 for 2 at tea. Either the English should lay off lunch and tea, or there is something invigorating served to Hadlee at these intervals — immediately after tea, he trapped the stubborn Moxon for 74. Gower reached 62 with some magnificent cover drives, pulls, drives and glances.

After Gower was dismissed, captain Mike Gatting went on for 2, and suddenly England, from being in a dominant position, were batting. But Peter Willey (27 not out) and Phil Edmunds (6 not out) managed to keep Hadlee at bay till stumps.

The New Zealander finished the day with 4 for 53 off 25 overs, 8 of them maidens.



ENGLAND'S STAR. — David Gower

## Botham bounces back

YEOVIL, England (APF). — Ian Botham was back in action for Somerset on Wednesday when he came out to play for the second eleven in his first game since his suspension.

Botham, who took one wicket for 28 in nine overs and who made 41 runs in 37 minutes, said before the game: The time off has been quite pleasant in some ways. My aim now

is to get back into the Somerset first team. I've got the same enthusiasm. I wasn't moping and it will not do me any harm."

Northamptonshire 489 for six declared (R.J. Bailey 224 not out, R.A. Harper 68, R.J. Boyd-Moss 68) and 114 for one dec. (R. Morris 90, R.C. Osting 89 not out, Yousuf Ahmed 66) and 196 for nine (Morris 89, N. Mallick 49 for 38, R.A. Harper four for 39).

Glamorgan 14 pts. and Northamptonshire (5, pts) match drawn.

Essex 378 for five declared (G.A. Gooch 151, J.P. Stephenson 85, A.R. Border 56) and 202 (G.A. Gooch 79, P.J. Newport four for 42; Worcester 323 (D. Patel 128, G.A. Hick 51, N.A. Foster six for 93) and 128 (N.A. Foster five for 64, J.R. Lever four for 55).

Essex (24 pts) vs Worcester (16 pts) by 91 runs. Lancashire 162 (G.R. Dilley six for 57) and 165 (R.M. Ellison four for 36, G.R. Dilley four for 53; Kent 157 (P.J. Allott four for 42, R.P. Patterson four for 45) and 171 for two (C.J. Taverne 56 not out).

Kent (21 pts) vs Lancashire (5 pts) by 8 wickets.

## John Player Special League

	P	W	L	NR	Ties	Pts
Hampshire (5)	8	7	1	0	0	28
Northamptonshire (5)	9	7	2	0	0	28
Northamptonshire (12)	10	7	3	0	0	28
Essex (1)	10	6	3	1	0	26
Kent (10)	9	5	3	1	0	22
Gloucestershire (14)	10	5	5	0	0	20
Surrey (2)	9	5	4	0	0	20
Yorkshire (6)	8	5	3	0	0	20
Warwickshire (10)	9	4	5	0	0	16
Derbyshire (4)	8	4	4	0	0	16
Lancashire (14)	10	4	6	0	0	16
Leicestershire (6)	8	4	4	0	0	16
Somerset (10)	9	4	5	0	0	16
Gloucestershire (12)	10	2	8	1	1	12
Surrey (17)	8	2	5	1	0	10
Gloucestershire (6)	8	2	6	0	0	8
Worcestershire (16)	10	2	7	1	0	8

(In brackets: 1985 positions)

## County Championship Table

	P	W	L	D	NR	Ties	Pts
Gloucestershire (3)	15	7	1	7	30	46	188
Leicestershire (4)	13	6	4	3	26	161	141
Leicestershire (16)	14	4	2	8	38	40	142
Nottingham (8)	14	4	2	7	33	42	141
Worcestershire (5)	14	4	3	7	40	44	140
Yorkshire (11)	14	4	3	7	40	44	138
Hants (2)	14	4	3	6	32	40	136
Surrey (6)	14	4	4	6	32	40	136
Northamptonshire (10)	14	4	4	6	32	40	134
Derby (12)	13	3	3	6	22	42	112
Kent (7)	13	3	4	6	22	42	111
Leicestershire (14)	13	3	4	6	22	42	111
Warwick (15)	12	2	3	10	34	39	105
Somerset (11)	14	2	3	10	34	39	99
Surrey (17)	14	0	7	7	23	61	64
Gloucestershire (11)	14	0	7	7	23	61	64
Gloucestershire (12)	14	0	7	7	23	61	64

(1985 positions in brackets)

## Gas and clay too much for Bassett

PRAGUE (AP). — Carling Bassett was feeling the pressure. Her Canadian team-mate, Helen Kolesi, had dropped the first match of their Federation Cup series to Judith Poelzl of Austria 6-2, 6-3, and Bassett had to win against Petra Huber if they were to advance to the quarter-finals.

Huber, ranked 60th in the world but dangerous on clay with a heavy topspin stroke, was not the only difficulty for the 13th-ranked Canadian.

Bassett's stomach was full of gas bubbles, the result of drinking too much carbonated water on changeovers.

"I was drinking that gassy water," she said. "It started contracting in my stomach and I got a cramp. It didn't help."

The combination of Huber's steady game and Bassett's growing discomfort combined to drop the fourth-seeded team from the single-elimination tournament. Huber beat Bassett 2-6, 6-3, 6-4.

Bulgaria, the fifth seed, took the two singles matches from France thanks to the Malveva sisters. Katerina Malveva beat Nathalie Tauziat 7-6, 7-6, and Manuela Malveva beat Catherine Tauziat 6-0, 6-1. France was the doubles match.

Eighth-seeded Italy also moved into the third round with a pair of double victories over Venezuela. Anna Maria Cecchini beating Karen Steif 6-7, 7-6, 6-3, and Raffaella Reggi defeating Sabrina Gola 6-4, 7-5.

Third-seeded West Germany and eleventh-seeded Argentina advanced too, but had to rely on first-match losses to do it. The losses in both cases were teenagers.

Steffi Graf, 17, beat Patricia Madrera of Brazil 6-0, 6-2, then combined with Bettina Bunge to defeat Madrera and Nigie Dine 6-2, 6-1. Dine, ranked 89th, had started the day with

a 6-2, 6-4 upset of 19th-ranked Claudia Kohde-Kich.

Gabriela Sabatini, 16, started Argentina's comeback from a first-match loss by Mercedes Paz to South Korea's Jeong-Seon Lee 7-6, 6-2. Sabatini beat Seo-On Kim 7-5, 6-2, and she and Paz beat Lee and Jeong-Seon Lee 7-5, 6-4.

Australia split its singles matches with Denmark. Anne Minter beating Lone Vandborg 6-1, 6-1 for her 11th Federation Cup victory in 12 matches and Elizabeth Smylie falling to Tina Schwaner-Larsen 6-1, 6-4. Smylie and Wendy Turnbull then put Australia into the quarter-finals with a 6-2, 5-7, 6-1 victory over Schwaner-Larsen and Anne Minter.

Czechoslovakia beat Australia in the quarterfinal. (Sukova b. Minter 6-4, 3-6, 6-4 and Mandlikova b. Turnbull 6-1, 3-6, 6-1.) Argentina b. Austria. (Paz b. Poelzl 6-4, 6-2 and Sabatini b. Huber 6-2, 5-7, 6-4.) U.S. and West Germany had rest days yesterday.

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## Handicapped athletes go to Stoke Mandeville

A delegation of handicapped Israeli athletes left yesterday for Stoke Mandeville, England, where they will participate in the World Championships for the Disabled starting Sunday.



After only a few weeks in office Hapoalim's new chief executive officer, Amiram Sivan, is making his mark with a new strategy for strengthening the bank further both at home and abroad.

The Post's Pinhas Landau reports

## Bank Hapoalim bounces back

THIS WEEK'S announcements from Bank Hapoalim outlining a new international-oriented strategy for the Histadrut-owned bank have left no doubt about two key facts in the post-Bejski environment in Israeli banking. Business is not as usual and, within the emerging new order, Bank Hapoalim is off to a head start.

Neither of these developments could have been taken for granted, but of the two, the second is more surprising. For whether the banks could have succeeded in recovering a semblance of decent profitability by maintaining their outmoded, pre-1983 structures and attitudes must be regarded as highly dubious. Nor could mere cost-cutting, however ruthlessly applied, have turned the trick. The more frisky, but ultimately the only logical, path was to find new areas of business on which to base future growth whilst phasing out or reducing the weight of those sectors that, in the new economic realities, are minor or negative contributors to the bottom line. In the professional jargon, this is referred

to as the search for new profit centres within the bank.

That it should be Bank Hapoalim that is taking the early lead in this trend may surprise many people, because of the widespread belief that the bank is still in the shadow of two major crises. The first is the internal split in the wake of "the Levinson affair" that culminated in the death-by-suicide of Hapoalim's former chairman Ya'acov Levinson in February 1984. The second is the perception that the debt crisis of the Israeli corporate sector has hit Hapoalim harder than any other bank, and will continue to cripple it for the foreseeable future.

Although these shadows are far from being figments of the imagination, the facts are that despite — or maybe even because of — them, Hapoalim has bounced back faster than other banks from the various traumas that the banking system has gone through, and is now in a clear position of leadership within the industry.

This development itself seems to stem in large part from the new duo



Amiram Sivan

(Haramaty)

who have been appointed to the bank's top jobs in recent months. Chairman Professor Eitan Berglass and managing director Amiram Sivan, working within a reformed control structure that clearly delineates the respective rights and duties of the board of directors of the executive management, have begun a process of orienting the bank towards the future — problematic and challenging though it may be — thereby forcibly detaching the bank and its personnel from their past woes.

The attempt by some commentators to assess this week's executive appointments on the basis of whether the officers promoted are in the pro- or anti-Levinson camp is therefore as futile as it is groundless. For the record, the people involved come from both groups, so that no clear "policy" can be ascertained. Furthermore, the issue of who got which job was complicated by various other factors, such as the recent resignation of Gad Gil, a senior deputy general manager, in the wake of revelations that he had operated illegal foreign currency accounts

overseas. Gil had been slated to head the bank's U.S. operations; when he went, someone else had to be found, and that person's place filled, and so on.

More to the point, if Hapoalim had been taken over by a bunch of intelligent Martians, they would also have had to decide whether and how to restructure the bank — and the chances are that they would have come up with a roughly similar set of new priorities, even if they had never heard of Ya'acov Levinson. Strategies have to be implemented by people, and given that the senior management level of Hapoalim contains a given number of individuals, all bearing the cross of the Levinson affair, they have had to make a collective decision: whether to maintain the split forever, wrecking the bank along the way, or to get on with their own and the bank's futures.

The record of the 30 months or so since Levinson put a bullet in his head indicates that there has been no civil war within Hapoalim. This is shown by the steady improvement in profitability achieved, from the dis-

astrous year of 1983 when the bank lost almost \$100m., to the \$35m. profit for 1985: by the fact that no senior executive from either faction has left for reasons other than the Bejski recommendations or his own misdemeanours; and, most significantly, by Hapoalim's achievements in consistently developing and marketing new financial services in a variety of fields, especially in recent months. Banks suffering from severe internal dissension don't manage these things, as Bank Mizrahi so well proves.

THE FOREGOING is the background material in the new self-portrait that Bank Hapoalim is engaged in creating. The figure that dominates the foreground is Amiram Sivan, who took over the role of chief executive officer (CEO), to use the accepted term; Hapoalim calls it chairman of the management board, inviting confusion with the non-executive role of chairman of the board of directors on June 1.

Now, after only a few weeks in office, Sivan has officially announced that he is leading Hapoalim into new pastures overseas. In an interview this week, he made abundantly clear several aspects of the new strategy.

First of all, asked whether the whole package of business strategies, personnel appointments and structural reorganization represented his own input, Sivan unhesitatingly answered yes. All the palaver about joint planning and team work that one might have expected from a new man putting up a phoney front of false modesty came much later. The point immediately established was that Sivan sees himself as in charge, period.

After six years on Hapoalim's board, he made the transition to CEO with ease, even relief. He says he is enjoying his new job immensely and he certainly gives the impression he knows what he wants to do. It would appear that he is being allowed to go ahead with his ideas. This is important, because when the time comes to assess the results — several years down the road — the

success or failure will have a clear address.

"The changes were inevitable, given the state of the Israeli and world economies," Sivan noted bluntly, by way of rationale for the ambitious focus on foreign growth which is the linchpin of the new strategy. The home market offers very little in the way of profit growth for Hapoalim in the coming years, whereas significant opportunities lie abroad.

"We must base the bank's overseas operations on working in foreign countries for foreign customers," he says, meaning that the old Hapoalim gameplan of having the foreign outlets concentrate on raising deposits that were funnelled back to Israel to become loans to local companies, and on servicing Israeli companies' foreign subsidiaries, is no longer good enough.

This approach will be implemented by building up the activities of the existing branches, especially in Britain and America, as well as expanding the bank's presence to hitherto untouched territories. The tactics will be to aim for areas of business where the bank has a relative advantage, sectors that don't require heavy investments of capital to start with, and the field of "participations" with other banks in loans and investments.

To obtain results, Hapoalim had to allocate several of its top executives to lead this advance, and to restructure the bank's priorities accordingly. Sivan makes it clear that this will be particularly the case regarding the personnel involved, which he considers one of the "relative advantages" of the bank: "We have an excess of good-quality middle management who, in a bank that is not growing overall, have prospects of breaking through to the top-level." His solution is, in part at least, to offer them the opportunity of management positions abroad with wide responsibilities and the challenge of developing new areas of business.

But he envisions management teams in the foreign branches of Hapoalim and local banking people operating together for maximum

effect, pooling expertise and together achieving the diverse aims set for them.

On the home front, too, Sivan is talking of major changes. These are in many ways the obverse of the foreign ones. His starting-point is that Hapoalim can no longer maintain its position as the number one lender in the Israeli economy. The bank's total size is around one-third of the total commercial banking system, but its loan portfolio is 40% of the total. That was fine in the past, but today a bank whose major borrowers include Solel Boneh, Kupat Holim, the agricultural sector and most of the other basket cases in the economy, has got to be thinking in different terms if it wants to survive.

Sivan is doing so. His sights are set on households and small businesses, whether self-employed or otherwise. Hapoalim's traditional emphasis on salary-earners' accounts — expressed by always ensuring that that group get better terms at Hapoalim than elsewhere — is being expanded. The customer is no longer viewed solely as a salary-receiver, with the consequent emphasis on current accounts and savings schemes, but as part of a household, with a demand for a broad range of financial services including mortgages, consumer loans and more sophisticated investment counselling.

This kind of banking sounds well, but in practice, in order to be done properly it needs careful planning and costing by senior management and then training and deployment of suitably-qualified personnel. The assumption at Hapoalim, as elsewhere, is that the banking system is moving toward less staff overall, with those that remain being of higher quality — and therefore better paid. In turn, this will necessitate a reduction of the existing branch network, resulting in many activities being concentrated in specialist branches in each locality.

Sivan is aware that these concepts are alien both to bank staff and their customers. He speaks of the "re-education" of many current officers and branch managers, hardly too strong a term for the revolution in retail banking now underway.

**POST Archives**

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John F. Kennedy  
Zeev Jabotinsky  
Winston Churchill  
Pope John XXIII  
UNu  
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BACK IN May 1985 the government was looking for some easy and fast way to collect money from the public. Thus the car tax was born.

The history of this tax is one of the best examples of the economic decision-making process, the relations between politicians and bureaucrats, and the relations between Knesset and cabinet under a national unity government.

When the tax was formally introduced, the Finance Ministry said it would be a 3 per cent levy, imposed for only one year and designed to bring in some \$100 million. But some weeks later, when the bill imposing the tax was finally tabled, the ministry wrote to the Knesset that "...since it will be one-time levy, it is proposed that the value of the vehicles should be determined in accordance with the existing classification relating to vehicles' licences."

In other words the basis for classification was no longer "3 per cent of the value of the car" — a sentence that never occurred in the bill — but in fact a table based on the year of production and the size of the engine.

Car drivers already know what this meant. Owners of cheap cars were forced to pay the same sums as those paid by owners of expensive ones, if their vehicles had the same engine size and were made in the same year. Thus while cheap-car owners were paying 5-6 per cent of the value of their cars, the levy for those with expensive vehicles amounted to no more than 1-2 per cent.

Understandably, many car owners protested. But they found some consolation in the fact that it would be a one-time tax; at least that was what the Treasury said.

When the budget for the current fiscal year was drafted, no car tax was included in it. The Knesset approved the budget in February, and as late as March no one was speaking about prolonging the levy.

## Avi Temkin on the argument over the newly-adopted car levy

### Going is tough for easy-money plan

FIVE MONTHS later, most of the new taxes envisaged in the budget have not been approved. But a new car levy has. Treasury officials say it was all the politicians' fault. They blocked legislation about other levies and left this ministry with no other choice.

The officials said that originally there were plans to tax old-age and maternity allowances. The ministry also wanted to scrap free secondary education and to introduce a progressive tuition.

In a second stage, the Treasury agreed to scrap most of these plans. Instead, an education fee was proposed, and in place of raising, advance allowances, it was proposed to tax portions of higher income individuals. Finally when the opposition to cutting allowances proved to be too strong, the government started to talk about prolonging the car tax. Some \$35m. would be raised by the tax, they figured.

In April the new Finance Minister, Moshe Nissim agreed to a further concession to the angry protest of Knesset members opposed to the new taxes. The education fee and the tax on pensioners were abandoned. Not so for the car tax. Nissim made it clear the Treasury was determined to see such a tax approved.

Thus, the Knesset Finance Committee was again asked to approve a levy on private cars. The Treasury proposed that the sums paid should be only half of those paid last year. In addition, the ministry said car

owners would be entitled to pay the levy in four instalments, and not in one payment, like last year.

All this was designed to overcome the expected Knesset opposition. The bill introducing the new tax was approved in first reading early in April, the same day Moshe Nissim became finance minister.

Treasury officials concede that they committed a tactical error. The tax was included in the same bill with the tax on pensioners and the education fee. "The bill was doomed from the outset," the officials said. The proposed legislation was approved in first reading, only to be duly buried by the Knesset Finance Committee.

If one asks Treasury officials, especially those in the Budget Department and the State Revenue Administration, who is the opposition to the government, they will not think about Ratz, Mapam or the Tehiya. They will probably first name the Knesset Finance Committee.

In fact coalition members like MKs Dan Tichon (Likud-Liberal) or Haim Ramon (Alignment) have in several instances been as hostile to government proposals as MK Yair Tsaban (Mapam). Trying to approve taxes in the committee has become a tortuous, even impossible, mission. It was the committee's opposition that was partly responsible for rejecting some of the Treasury's proposals in recent months.

WHEN NISSIM agreed to cancel



Will owners of luxury cars get the best deal?

the proposals for a pensions' tax and an educational fee, the way was opened for better tactics. The ministry reintroduced the car tax under a different bill, with amendments which were in line with the stabilization plan.

These amendments included extending the regulation which gave lower-income persons a refund of their payments to the National Insurance Institute of up to 5.35 per cent of their salaries.

This measure is highly popular among the Knesset Finance Committee, a fact which the Treasury was quick to recognize, and exploit. "We took hostages. Otherwise we would have been stuck with the tax until the

end of the fiscal year," a Treasury official said.

From that moment on, the battle for the car tax became a cat-and-mouse affair, with the mouse using every delay trick it knew. In meeting after meeting the committee's debates ended without a vote on the proposed levy.

Finally the committee's chairman, MK Avraham Shapira (Agudat Yisrael), decided to put an end to the affair. At the end of June he convened a marathon meeting, and after almost 10 hours of deliberations, the tax was approved, or at least that was what Shapira thought.

Less than 24 hours later, he was back to square one. Tichon and

Tsaban, together with MK Yoram Aridor (Likud-Herut), asked for a new vote. They said they had been misled by the Treasury, which had told them that it was not possible to tax cars according to all three factors: production year, engine size and actual value.

This accusation was too much for some of the Treasury officials. In a moment of anger, State Revenue Commissioner Yisrael Baron yelled that he would "personally deal with MK Tichon." This was not only a case of a civil servant threatening an MK during an official meeting of a Knesset committee. It was also a threat by the head of the tax system on an MK who happens to be a self-employed economic consultant.

Baron was declared *persona non grata* at the Knesset by Speaker Shimon Hillel, until a proper apology was delivered by the commissioner. Baron delivered an apology this week.

DESPITE THIS incident the Treasury continued putting heavy pressure on the committee. Early last week they again had the tax approved by the committee. Tsaban made a new attempt to have the tax delayed. He proposed, and got the committee's accord, that the Treasury should prepare new tables that would take into account the car value. To prepare such tables would take months, and this would make the approval of the tax a mere formality.

But this time the Treasury was determined to put an end to the affair. It proposed to have a lower tax on a reduced number of cars, eight or nine models which were not very popular with the public.

The ministry reminded the MKs that the bill included the NII refund and asked for a vote. The proposal was again approved, and car owners will make the first of four monthly instalments on December 1.

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## Ifrane and beyond

THE IMMEDIATE breakthrough that could not—and certainly should not—have been expected, did not materialize. This has evoked some anguish, and some not so anguished, cries of disappointment over the results of the Peres-Hassan summit. The talks had foundered, banner headlines proclaimed in the local press yesterday. After all, the Moroccan king had said so himself.

Which indeed he had. But the royal account of what had transpired at Ifrane needs to be taken with a grain of salt.

Hassan was reporting to his own people, and to Arabs generally, on his bold effort to translate the present Arab consensus on Palestine into a binding commitment, tied to the peace, by Israel. He had offered the Fez plan to Mr. Peres for his acceptance, and when the premier made clear his rejection of Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and an independent PLO state in the West Bank and Gaza, Hassan advised his Israeli guest that he might as well go back home.

Strangely, however, the king did not press Mr. Peres, and their conversations were not called off at that point. Evidently the two found something to put their teeth into, for all that.

The presentation of the Fez plan to the head of Israel's national unity government makes sense not as an attempted *diktat*—which as Labour's chairman, too, he was bound to spurn—but only as an opening gambit in a diplomatic game to be continued far beyond Ifrane. Anwar Sadat's historic address to the Knesset on November 20, 1977, was no less intransigent in its tenor than the later Fez plan. But since it aimed at triggering a peace diplomacy, the address eventually brought forth a peace treaty. Hassan's purpose was to serve as a peace catalyst among the more moderate Arab states, notably Jordan, which remains reluctant to meet the issues head-on by conferring with Israel.

The fact that such a role for the Moroccan monarch is believed useful in securing badly needed U.S. economic aid, is no reason to doubt the sincerity with which the role was assumed.

According to the information now available, the summit ended without an agreement on substance. But it had been clear from the outset that the importance of the meeting lay not in any hope of substantive agreement, but in the public acknowledgement that the meeting was being held. This, above all, made it into an historic event. The television cameras only provided the official seal of publicity, at the end.

Israelis, including even Knesset members, had been invited over to Morocco before, and they had come undisguised; but never cabinet ministers, let alone premiers. Had Mr. Peres arrived there secretly, this week, as he had done before, the meeting would have amounted to very little, if anything. It was—to them—the brazen publicity that so riled the Arab extremists, notably the Syrians and their Palestinian dependents.

King Hassan must have foreseen the commotion that his defiant move would stir, even if not the degree of its ferocity. But this heir to a 300-year-old throne was not going to be deterred from pursuing his chosen course by the "left pivots" of the Arab world.

There is thus every reason to believe that at Ifrane a process of diplomatic communication was in effect inaugurated between Israelis and Moroccans, as Mr. Peres broadly hinted it was, and despite the absence of any reference to such future contacts in the final joint communiqué. This process will still involve Mr. Peres when he cedes the premiership to Yitzhak Shamir and takes over the Foreign Ministry, which he presumably will in early October.

The big question now is not whether or not—or how fast—Hassan will dismount from the high Fez horse and come down to the brass tacks of diplomatic negotiation, but what impact his initiative will have on such timid and easily alarmed souls as King Hussein. The Jordanian monarch's scheduled rush to Damascus for the weekend is not reassuring—except to those Arab rejectionists who will do with nothing less than everything, and those rejectionists in Israel who wish them more power.

## Same old NRP

WITH THE LIMELIGHT this week focusing mainly on Ifrane, when not on the royal wedding in London, the NRP's national convention escaped the public attention it seemed to merit. For this was the convention that promised to grant a new lease of life to the lately moribund but once powerful, 12 Knesset member-strong moderately Orthodox party. Great hopes were voiced that the convention would do away with the factionalism that had long bedeviled the NRP, leaving it a near wreck.

What remains of such hopes is only the long knives with which leaders of the several factions caressed one another in the name of unity and in a manner reminiscent of the Herut conclave earlier this year.

On the eve of the convention a recently formed group of liberal rabbis and religious academics issued an implied challenge to the NRP: to "renew the consensus between the religious and the secular" Jews in this country. The group, going by the name of *Hagu* (Thought), called for a halt to "one-sided initiatives for religious legislation," and for "the advancement of the ethical and social principles embodied in the Torah."

It was in vain, however, that *Hagu* founders advertised their programme in the papers. The NRP convention could not be turned away by such trifling issues, except momentarily, from its real business.

The real business was the fierce battles of the factions for the spoils of what little power the party still wields, which in terms of effective membership is about one half of the number officially recorded. The once ruling *Lamifne* faction, now a monument to the rottenness of party bureaucracy, was ripped mercilessly by the triumphantly senescent Young Guard which, in order to extend its hold on the party, handed the post of secretary-general to its current ally of convenience, the ultra-hawkish Matzad.

So much for the Young Guard's much touted penitential reversion to political reasonableness.

*Lamifne*'s septuagenarian leader, and the party's perennial cabinet representative, Dr. Yosef Burg, won a reprieve from his self-pledged retirement as religious affairs minister until the convention meets in session again in September. When it does so, it is likely to be greeted by a nation-wide yawn.

## Limited mission accomplished

HIRSH GOODMAN

WHEN Moshe Dayan first travelled to Morocco in September 1977, the car driving him from a cabinet meeting in Jerusalem to the military airfield near Tel Aviv from which he was to fly to Ifrane, stopped near Abu Ghosh. There, Dayan transferred into a van, where he was disguised with a thick wig, a bushy moustache and sunglasses.

Unlike Dayan, Prime Minister Peres had to wear neither wig nor sunglasses when he left for Ifrane on Monday night. But also unlike Dayan, who as Begin's foreign minister had gone to Morocco to hear the Egyptian preconditions for peace negotiations, Peres apparently arrived with hardly any agenda beyond the fact of the meeting itself. For Dayan, Morocco was a conduit towards a definite end; for Peres, it was another milestone in a process towards an end still far from being even vaguely defined.

Why, then, should there be disappointment at the lack of anything tangible in this week's event in Morocco beyond the very fact of a meeting between the chairman of the Arab League and the holder of the highest titles of Islam and an Israeli prime minister—a momentous diplomatic achievement in itself.

Surely there could have been no realistic expectation that, after two days of meetings, Peres or Hassan could have found any way to bridge the impossible gap dividing Israel and Morocco on the 1984 Fez peace plan.

COULD PERES, without cabinet consultation, without party approval, without the presence of a legal adviser or non-partisan senior government official, and without any national mandate, have committed Israel to any of the basic assumptions of the Fez Plan—direct negotiations with the PLO; a pre-commitment to return all of the territories; the creation of an independent Palestinian state; and the renegotiation of the status of Jerusalem?

King Hassan could not have expected Peres to yield on any of these issues in any meaningful way; and obviously that was not the intention of this first meeting. Had it been, Peres would have probably had to return home wearing a wig, moustache and sunglasses.

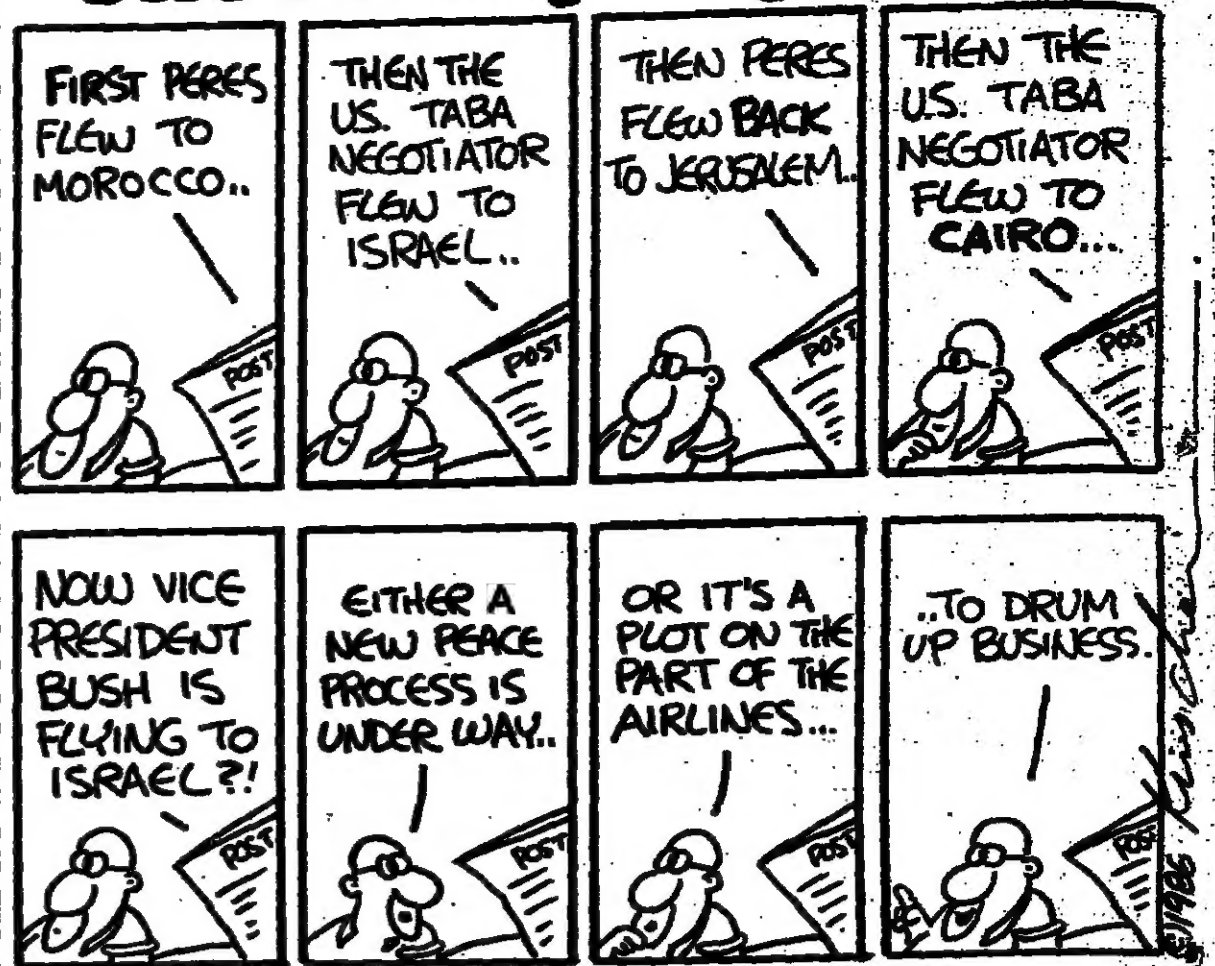
Breakthroughs are not achieved in public: they are announced in public. Psychological breakthroughs, however, need public recognition, as do messages. And the message is what is important here. The television clip of Hassan and Peres sitting uncomfortably side by side was but a few seconds long, but it was long enough and significant enough for the Syrians to break off diplomatic relations with Morocco, isolating Assad even further; to make Egypt's usually dour President Husni Mubarak smile; and to drive a deeper wedge between the virtually silent Arab moderates (Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states) and the predictably shrill rejectionists (Syria, Iran, Libya, Iraq and the PLO).

THE MESSAGE is clear, and consistent with Peres's and Hassan's primary point of agreement: the time has come for a new age of realism in the Middle East. Israel exists, so do the Palestinians. There are legitimate rights on both sides, and legitimate grievances. What has to be placed on the Middle East agenda is an open search for the means to address these fundamental issues; a means to nurture the seed planted by Anwar Sadat, not allow it to be crushed by the obduracy of the radicals who for too long have dictated the tone of Middle East realpolitik.

To be sure, there were ulterior motives for the meetings as well. Peres has less than three months left to him as prime minister. He had absolutely nothing to lose and everything to gain from going to Ifrane. He gave away nothing and gained much, both in terms of personal stature and in the reaction in the Arab world. Hassan asserted himself at the forefront of Arab moderation on the eve of his important visit to a now elated Washington, at the relatively cheap cost of Syrian ire.

BUT THIS does not belie the summit's message that there is to be a dialogue among this troubled region's "silent majority." Though the dialogue may ultimately prove futile, amounting to no more than words, it is a proof of the fundamental changes that have taken place in the Middle East since Dayan changed his appearance at Abu Ghosh.

## The Friday Dry Bones



What the world can now see is a Middle East where "Arab" and "Jew" have ceased to be axiomatically associated as enemies; where Jordan openly uses Israeli-made irrigation systems; where the Egyptian Air Force flies American Phantom jets with over 200 Israeli modifications on them, and the Saudi Air Force, F-15s with Israeli manufactured components.

It is a region that in the past eight years has witnessed the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt; the ouster of the Shah; the Iraq-Iran war; the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor; the assassination of Sadat; war in Lebanon; the dispersal and split of the PLO; a change of government in Israel; an Israeli strike against the PLO in Tunisia; the U.S. raid on Libya; the plunge in the price of oil; a radical alteration in Jordanian and Egyptian attitudes to the Palestinian issue; and growing internal, external and economic problems in Syria.

The Peres-Hassan summit can now be added to the list of landmarks, with only history able to judge whether it was indeed a point of departure, or yet another dramatic journey to an ultimate dead-end.

ADDRESSING himself to the question of war and peace in this region at

a symposium in Jerusalem earlier this month, Peres stressed that he did not have grandiose ideas about how peace can be attained. He did not base his assumption of a better future on one dramatic gesture, such as another Sadat-style initiative or Israel's adoption of the Fez principles, or even a visit to the most probable of Arab hosts—King Hassan of Morocco.

Sadat and the Israel-Egypt set of circumstances were both unique and should not be applied to current realities, said the prime minister. Instead, he saw the future as being built on a gradual process consolidating the positive elements at play in the area. First there must be a resolution of the Taba dispute; then an improvement of the economic situation in the region, including the West Bank and Gaza. Thirdly, dialogue must be deepened between the moderate parties to the argument. Every dialogue, even if not initially fruitful, was essential if there were not to be another war before there is peace.

Peres, in fact, was telling his Jerusalem audience only two weeks ago to expect movement, but not to misinterpret that movement as a headlong plunge into major, fundamental or significant change. He

hinted at the possibility of future Israeli-Arab interaction, but rather as part of a long process, not an end in itself.

KING HASSAN'S basic assumptions about the meeting, notwithstanding his apparent disappointment when reporting to the Moroccan people Wednesday night, could not have been much different. Hassan can speak only for himself or for the Arab League. For himself, he has no reason for dialogue, Morocco being 6,000 kilometres from Jerusalem, while he has no mandate to speak for the Arab League on the Israeli issue since it has no unified voice.

Who knows what new seeds were sown at Ifrane, or whether there will be a continuation of what was begun there. Peres has less than three months, and King Hassan has little incentive to pursue the experiment if the process remains bilateral. What was achieved, however, was the addition of yet another layer of credibility to the inviolability of Israel's existence.

If only for this, the importance of the meeting should not be belittled.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Defence Correspondent.

## READERS' LETTERS

### SOUTH AFRICA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, — It is heartening to observe the concern of the international community over the system of apartheid in South Africa. And not only is there concern, but also a significant degree of action in response to the repression in that country.

But why is South Africa singled out? The world does not lack other ghastly examples. In Saudi Arabia, the slavery of blacks continues to this very day. The practice of a religion other than Islam is unthinkable. Why is the world silent?

In the Soviet Union, human rights and political beliefs are stifled by a system as rigid and merciless as any in South Africa.

The world, alas, offers other examples. Yes, protest and action are needed for South Africa. But why let other countries and their abominable practices go scot-free?

ELIEZER MARSHALL  
Jerusalem.

### IN-FLIGHT MOVIES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, — I heartily endorse the recent letter from the Rev. Miller about the in-flight movies shown by El Al.

I am organizer and leader of Bible study groups to the Holy Land and have always flown El Al. However, this year, members of my group were greatly disturbed by the film shown on the return flight involving sex and the occult.

The excellent safety record of El Al is certainly a plus factor, but my main reason for using the national carrier is firstly to support the State of Israel, and secondly the desire that the pilgrimage experience should commence as we enter the plane and end when we leave the plane at Heathrow on the return flight.

I have always felt in-flight movies to be an unnecessary intrusion, but even more so when suggestive and degrading situations are thrust upon one's vision.

JOHN WESTON  
Wimborne Minster, Dorset.

### THE RULE OF LAW

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Emmy, the social worker, was brutally murdered in Migdal Ha'emek. The murderer hated her for trying to protect his wife from his persistent cruelty and stabbed her to death in her office. An armed guard did not intervene. Afterwards, he told a reporter: "I could have shot his head off." "So why didn't you?" he was asked. His instantaneous answer was: "What do you want? That they should treat me like they treated the secret service?"

This is the "rule of law" which lawyers and politicians who want to prosecute men charged with protecting us from murderers and terrorists are imposing upon an unwilling country. A recent poll published by the daily newspaper *Ma'ariv* showed that 64.4 per cent of the public opposed the Labour Party demand to set up an enquiry committee to examine the responsibility of the ministerial level for the "secret service affair." Only 24.6 per cent supported it. The rest expressed no opinion. The amnesty given by the President to the heads of the secret service was supported by 69.3 per cent of the public. Only 15.1 per cent opposed it.

Seemingly, the public has more sense than the lawyers, journalists and politicians who would have us embroiled for months and years in establishing and discussing the "guilt" of the eliminators of two Arab terrorists who captured a bus, murdered a young woman, and threatened to murder their other hostages unless their demands were met.

The man symbolizing this kind of "rule of law," under which soldiers fear to shoot at Arab rioters, the secret service at terrorists, and the general public at anyone who comes

to rob, rape or murder (and fear with good reason, as they are likely to be charged with a criminal offence if they do) is the former attorney-general, Mr. Yitzhak Zamir. His insistence on prosecuting first General Yitzhak Mordechai and later the heads of the secret service (despite government opposition in both cases) has already cost us dearly. His claim that he did so because "the law must be enforced" would sound more convincing had he demanded the prosecution of agitators in the army against the Lebanese war (a criminal offence), had he campaigned publicly against the release of 1,150 convicted terrorists by the government, and had he not closed files of PLO propagandists against whom serious complaints were submitted without even demanding a police investigation.

Mr. Zamir, who publicly expressed his fear lest the Tehiya Party should gain strength and dubbed parts of the Israeli right "political offenders," is very popular in the media and among the Israeli left. He may find the results of the public opinion poll cited above an indicator of the regard in which he and his supporters are held by the general public.

What too many lawyers and journalists seem to have forgotten (politicians, unfortunately, tend to remember only what suits their political interests) is that the purpose of the law is to protect society from criminals and terrorists—and not to protect the criminals and terrorists. When the reverse is true, the law should be promptly amended. The general public, in Israel at least, knows this instinctively. For which God be praised, as otherwise our state would probably not survive.

YOHANAN RAMATI  
Jerusalem.

### YA'AL: VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, — There still exists a beautiful Israel; the stream of volunteers who came to help patients in hospital during the nurses' strike proves that, in time of need, we can still count on our people to respond.

Ya'al (a helping hand to the sick) is busy all year round in hospitals, helping patients, as there is always a need for another pair of hands and a warm heart.

We appeal to all those who came to help at the time of crisis to continue doing so in the future. For further information, contact our offices at Hadassah Ein Karem and Hadassah Mount Scopus any day between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.

DALLA GROSSMAN,  
Chairman, Ya'al Hadassah  
Jerusalem.

### SELF-DESTRUCTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, — Once upon a time, there was a State of Israel, surrounded by many enemies who had vowed to destroy it. When they failed, they called on their wise men, who said: "Let us change our tactics. Instead of using guns, let us make peace and watch Israel destroy itself. Give a man a rope and he will hang himself."

And so it was. Israel grew fat. It forgot to count its blessings, living on a land literally flowing with milk and honey. It forgot it had lived in tents and on very meagre rations. It forgot Auschwitz (yet learned others not to forget). Israel learned how to lose friends and make enemies. Crime grew faster than inflation, as parents did not teach their children the right way. Instead of fighting its enemies, Jews fought Jews.

ELIEZER SCHAECHTER  
Kometiyut.

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